

MIDDLE EAST AND SOUTH ASIA REVIEW

30 MARCH 1982

Israel

Budget Approval -- The Knesset approved the supplementary budget law by 59 votes to 57, Jerusalem radio reported. The radio said that despite the continued opposition of MK Hayim Druckman, the government won a majority because of the absence of one Alignment MK and the abstention of a Telem MK.

West Bank Unrest -- The Gush 'Esyon treasurer shot and wounded a stone-thrower after his vehicle was ambushed and attacked with stones and burning tires near the village of Al-Khidr, Jerusalem radio reported. The authorities subsequently imposed a curfew on Al-Khidr, and also maintained curfews or sieges on seven other Arab areas. The radio noted that two IDF soldiers were injured by stones thrown by demonstrators in Nabulus and that another soldier was injured in Tubas. According to the radio, 25 youths were arrested in Bethlehem on suspicion of participating in a demonstration.

Relations With Egypt -- In a message delivered to Egyptian President Husni Mubarak on 28 March, Prime Minister Menahem Begin reaffirmed Israel will fulfill all its commitments in the peace treaty and will withdraw from the Sinai on time despite difficulties, Jerusalem radio reported. Regarding the dispute over the demarcation of the border at Tabah, near Elat, Begin said Israel is not asking Egypt to give up even 1 centimeter of its territory because the disputed area is Israeli in the full sense of the word. Begin reiterated his proposal that an attempt be made to solve the dispute through agreement, prior to which life in the disputed area will continue unchanged. While the radio indicated that Begin said Israel will not agree to international arbitration over the Tabah dispute, MA'ARIV said Begin's message announced Israel's acceptance of mutually agreed upon arbitration.

According to Jerusalem radio, Begin also told Mubarak that the IDF should be praised for its restraint in the occupied territories and that Jordan and Syria have no moral right to appeal to the UN Security Council over recent events there. Ambassador Moshe Sason, who delivered the message to Mubarak, explained to the Egyptian leader the motives for Israel's actions in the occupied territories, MA'ARIV noted. Sason subsequently conveyed a message from Mubarak to Begin, the radio said.

Egypt

After delivering a personal message from President Mubarak to U.S. President Ronald Reagan, Defense Minister 'Abd al-Halim Abu Ghazalah described his meeting with Reagan as extremely friendly and fruitful, MENA reported. While regretting West Bank incidents as an obstacle to the process of trust-building advocated by Egypt, Abu Ghazalah expressed confidence that the United States and Egypt will successfully continue joint efforts to implement fully the Camp David accords. Earlier, Abu Ghazalah discussed bilateral relations with U.S. Secretary of State Alexander Haig and other officials, MENA noted.

PLO

Under an agreement between the PLO and Syria the latter will provide backing to the resistance in the event of a large-scale "Zionist attack" on southern Lebanon, PLO Executive Committee member Mahmud 'Abbas revealed in an interview reported by the 23 March London paper ASH-SHARQ AL-AWSAT. 'Abbas was replying to a question on whether PLO Executive Committee Chairman Yasir 'Arafat's declaration that the Palestinians would be fighting with Syrian air cover and Soviet support was one of the results of Fatah's dialogue with Syria. 'Abbas also affirmed that the uprising in the occupied territories will intensify and contended that all borders with Israel should be open to the Palestinian resistance.

Lebanon

UNIFIL has begun operating an observation post in Beaufort Castle, Jerusalem radio reported.

Syria

Three special units soldiers were killed on 27 March in an armed ambush in the Aleppo area, the Voice of Lebanon said. In a search for Ahmad 'Aqlah, head of the Muslim Brotherhood group, special units stormed some houses in Aleppo and clashed with Brotherhood members, according to the radio. The radio also claimed that in apparent retaliation for the destruction of a Syrian customs post by an Iraqi patrol, Syrian authorities arrested about 100 Iraqi and Jordanian residents of Aleppo.

Iran-Iraq Conflict

All Iranian Army and guards corps units must maintain combat readiness for continuing the current offensive, liberating Iranian territory and securing the borders, a 29 March Joint Operational Center statement advised the troops over Tehran radio. Advancing Iranian forces captured Iraqi missile sites, acquiring a number of serviceable SAM-6 and surface-to-surface missiles, a military statement broadcast by Tehran radio announced. Iranian forces eliminated Iraqi troops from Pineh Heights, location of a rich oil reserve, and gained control of the Abu Gharib oil well, the statement said. It added that 14,795 prisoners had already been evacuated to the rear. Iran has downed 21 enemy aircraft since 21 March, according to a communique carried by Tehran radio. It added that by 29 March, 12,015 Iraqi prisoners had reached Tehran.

Iraqi forces have killed 1,018 Iranians in the Shush-Dezful sector and 138 in other sectors, while losing 29 of their own men, according to a communique carried by Baghdad radio. Four Iranian fighter planes and four helicopters were downed, while all Iraqi aircraft that raided enemy positions returned safely. The communique admitted the loss of 2 tanks while claiming that 35 enemy tanks were destroyed.

Iran

Iran will release approximately 15,000 prisoners between 21 March and 1 April in accordance with Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini's amnesty directive, Revolution Prosecutor Hoseyn Musavi-Tabrizi stated in an interview reported by Tehran radio.

DAILY REPORT

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LEADERS ADDRESS PDPA NATIONAL CONFERENCE

Karmal Speech

LD231744 Kabul Domestic Service in Dari 1630 GMT 15 Mar 82

[Speech by Babrak Karmal, general secretary of the PDPA Central Committee and president of the DRA Revolutionary Council, at 13 March National Conference of the PDPA at the Kabul Polytechnic Institute -- recorded]

[Text] Comrade representatives, during the period which has elapsed since the First PDPA Congress, our party has traveled a long and complex path, a proud path with ups and downs. Under the leadership of our party, the glorious April Revolution has achieved victory and put our beloved homeland, proud and ancient Afghanistan, on the highway of national-democratic development. After 27 April 1978, profound changes occurred in the country in a very short time from the historical point of view, and this process is continuing. An end has been put to the sociopolitical and economic sway of the feudals and big money-lenders, and land and water reforms are being realized in the interest of the masses of peasants and nomads. The state sector in industry and transportation (?has) expanded and developed. The party and government have consistently and firmly work to consolidate an atmosphere of legality and respect for the rights and freedoms of the country's citizens. All the necessary grounds and possibilities for the performance of religious rites are maintained and provided for all. Now the people are aware and are confident, more than ever before, that our policy is truly directed toward solving economic, social and cultural problems in their interests. The results of work carried out in all areas adds up to the consolidation of new relationships, respect, trust, cooperation and brotherhood between all national and patriotic forces of Afghanistan in their noble and collective activity in the service of our dear homeland, revolutionary Afghanistan. Thus, once again this fact has proved that the policy of the PDPA is correct and indicative of the fundamental interests, needs and aspiration of our people.

The revolutionary change in Afghanistan from backwardness to all-round progress has aroused the savage indignation, wrath and lunatic resistance of imperialism and reaction. They have embarked upon extensive interference in our internal affairs; they have set out on a path of terror and murder, massacre and killing and they have instigated a fratricidal war. They do not spare any means to reestablish the sovereignty of exploiters and to deprive our people of a prosperous life and progress. It was these crimes and the interference of the enemies of the Afghan revolution which created (?problems) in carrying out socioeconomic changes at the pace which had been anticipated; serious difficulties are being created in industry, agriculture and energy affairs and transportation. It is because of these crimes and interference that bloodshed is still continuing and our compatriots are suffering. The present situation demands from the PDPA, as a revolutionary party, speed and decisiveness in action and great organizational work. [applause]

Therefore, the (?unity of) action, which should be the pillar of unity and further solidarity, and the closeness of the party ranks and the coordination of all our forces that implement the tasks of the national-democratic revolution and safeguard its achievements, is necessary. [Words indistinct] is also necessary that the major strategic task of the first plan, that is the charter of the PDPA and taking over political power, has been completed. [applause] Now there are new tasks for the party to fulfill. Thus, the major goal of the PDPA conference is to formulate the tasks and define the specific methods for advancing our movement.

In the time which has elapsed since the second plenum of our party's Central Committee and the approval of (?its charter), certain lessons have been learned about the party's internal affairs and new forms and methods of work have been developed in the party organizations. The working method of party organization is being improved and developed, and provincial committees as well as city district committees in the large cities have been established. Changes have occurred in the rights and responsibilities of party committees with [word indistinct] authorities. All these are fundamental steps which organize life inside the party. They should be reflected in the PDPA Charter. Therefore, in our opinion, it is necessary that some changes and alterations be made to the present party charter. Some (documents) which will bear national importance will also be approved by the conference.

Comrades, preparation for the PDPA national conference turned into a great political campaign. It made our party stronger and more united. It consolidated and expanded its link with the broad masses of the people. The revolutionary fervor of full members and candidate members of the party was (?felt) and it equipped the party with a new experience.

As the draft action report has been distributed already and the comrade delegates are in possession of it, allow me then to embark upon an appraisal of its major points and the fundamental aspects of the party's practical action which is included in the contents of the program.

The essence of national-democratic revolution in Afghanistan and the principle line of its development:

Comrades, at the time of formulating the party's action program and the practical policy emanating from that, we set before ourselves a simple and clear goal: to bring prosperity to our people and to make our country blossom. The essence of the April Revolution and all the activity of our party is formed by this clear and bright goal. It is not possible to reach this lofty goal immediately. Overcoming (?serious) backwardness and moving toward all-round progress needs time and the conscious, planned efforts of all the people under the leadership of their political vanguard, the ruling revolutionary party, our party, the PDPA. [applause]

The [word indistinct] historical phase is inevitable in a process (?which) is a national-democratic revolution. Our revolution was an answer to the discontent and increasing historical hatred and indignation of the broadest social masses, the workers, the intellectuals, the patriotic and progressive officers, the troops, the tribes and nationalities for the reactionary and selfish policies of antipopular regimes. It is a national democratic revolution which has an anti-imperialist character. Our revolution set itself the following general democratic tasks: eliminating all feudal and pre-feudal remnants; limiting large landholdings and the distribution of land to landless peasants, and to agricultural workers; raising the people's standard of living, developing the cultures of the nationalities and tribes in Afghanistan and profoundly and consistently democratizing the sociopolitical life.

At the same time our revolution has a national character because it reflects the national characteristics, the profound religious feelings, the historical and cultural traditions and the moral values of the people residing in our country, revolutionary Afghanistan. We approach with respect all these values and safeguard with all of our power every [words indistinct] which it has brought about and which are good and progressive; we expand and develop them.

I should remind you again that our revolution is the historical (?product) of the long struggles of the patriots of Afghanistan to attain a better and prosperous future. These struggles were strengthened further under the influence of the basic changes which occurred all over the world and in our region, blessed by the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution almost 65 years ago and the later changes in the balance of power in the interests of peace and progress. In our dear country, Afghanistan, a new current of movements came about; it developed quickly and the forces of progress and freedom were strengthened. At the time, and at the beginning of our century, prominent Afghan democrats such as Jalalabadi, Tarzi and others, as supporters of the homeland's true progress, invited the people to unite in the name of a glorious and better future. The third Afghan-British war strengthened our patriotic unity, enhanced the democratic movement and activated all progressive forces in the country. The later development of this (?movement) formed the first constitutional movement, the progressive reforms of Amir Amanollah, the second constitutional movement, the seventh term of parliament and the movement of the Afghan people for democratic reforms against the despotic policies of the reactionary regime. Thus, all these were living witnesses to the existence of a vital historic need of our people for true progress and all-round development. It was as a result of the powerful development of these needs of society that our party came into being which, at the end of consistent and long struggles supported by all national and patriotic forces, resulted in the victory of the glorious April Revolution. [applause]

Comrades, the April Revolution did not succeed (?arbitrarily); it was carried out on the bases of scientific revolutionary theory and the laws of social revolution and our party's creative implementation and adaptation of these laws to the economic, historical, moral and national characteristics of beloved Afghanistan. What are those characteristics peculiar to the revolutionary process of our country: It must be pointed out, first of all, that the Afghan revolution occurred not only in conditions of backwardness but also in such a condition and situation that a broader range of problems, compared to some other countries, should be solved simultaneously; that is, in addition to major economic, social and cultural problems, it should solve national, religious and tribal problems. The solution to all of these problems demands a balanced and flexible approach by the party and the revolutionary government. In addition, the April Revolution has begun and is continuing in the form of peaceful struggle and armed fight by the party and people against the aggression of imperialism, Beijing hegemonism, regional reaction and internal counterrevolutionaries. It must also be pointed out that the development of a national-democratic revolution has never been smooth and uneventful after its victory. At the beginning our revolution was faced with not only mistakes and deviations but also organized interference and aggression from abroad. As a result, most of the planned tasks were not carried out and the changes that were begun were not completed.

Therefore, at the present stage, our revolution must embark upon an extensive plan and program to (?safeguard the gains) of the revolution, improve the workers' material condition, continue land and water reform, improve affairs related to the (?primary needs) of the people and develop commerce, culture and education. A major and important point to be remembered is this: that the April Revolution is being developed in a country in which the majority of people are Muslims.

Internal and external reaction, inside and outside Afghanistan, has made and is making every effort to sow hatred and indignation among the faithful Muslims against our revolution and party. Therefore, the party will make every effort to describe the lofty and noble aims of the revolution to the faithful Muslims, and primarily, to the workers.

Another characteristic of major importance is that our revolution is being developed and expanded in a country with a tribal and ethnic structure. In the past, despotic and reactionary regimes made use of this characteristic to create dissension and enmity among the tribes, nationalities and ethnic groups in order to define the positions of each of them and thus to continue and lengthen their despotic and tyrannical sway over them. The party and revolutionary government will pay serious attention to the logical and correct solution to this complex problem which has been inherited from the past.

Comrades, correctly understanding the characteristics of our revolution and their creative adoption with the general laws of revolutionary changes is of great principled importance in the party's policy. The existence of a practical policy for success depends on correct comprehension. In assessing the realities of our society, the party has found that the existing problems in the country and revolution cannot be solved at once, instantly, but it can be done step by step. The development of the revolution must be progressive, consistent and according to plan. Each phase of its development depends on and can begin from the accomplishment of the tasks of the previous phase. The party cannot allow deviation from [word indistinct] phases, deviation from reality and unnecessary haste, nor can it tolerate any delay in the revolutionary changes in Afghanistan. [applause]

Stagnation in any sector and changing revolutionary action to revolutionary talk are not allowed. Peace depends on this uncompromising determination that will gradually improve the people's material condition, eliminate illiteracy, develop education, public health and culture, and maintain stability, peace, legality and revolutionary order. The party, while moving consistently from the national-democratic stage, is against every kind of effort to oppose one stage to another. After the victory of the April Revolution, the general direction of the current of revolution raced ahead; in the new and present stage of the revolution this current has become free from [word indistinct] and deviation related to it; powerful stimulants have been (?created); and it is forging ahead decisively toward the now defined direction. [applause]

Establishment of the principles of the new political system, which is indicative the democratic essence of the revolution, is one of the gains of the April Revolution. This system, in addition to the organs of state power, incorporates the National Fatherland Front as the pillar of the workers together with all social mass organizations, including the trade unions, democratic youth and democratic women's organizations, farmers, cooperatives, the trade unions of creative intellectuals, the council of ulema and spiritual leaders, tribal jergas and others. The new political system has been created and is functioning. The party will also pay serious attention in the future to the improvement of democratization and the consolidation of its links with the people. The party has always believed and believes that the question of political power is a major and important question of the revolution.

The April Revolution established the new-style state power -- the (?power) of the workers and all patriots of the country. The pillar and base of this [word indistinct] is indicative of the fundamental interests and aspirations of the broad masses of the people constituted by the unity of the major social forces of our society, that is, workers and peasants. This unity is supported by all the workers, all true patriots and all praiseworthy sons of our homeland, intellectuals, troops of the revolutionary armed forces, artisans, traders and national capitalists, religious figures, tribes, clans and nationalities of Afghanistan. All are actively participating. We are continuing to build a new Afghanistan in conditions of an undeclared war imposed by imperialism and reaction. We place great importance on the further consolidation and strengthening of the power and ability to defend the homeland and our revolutionary gains, to safeguard and [word indistinct] these gains, to prevent and successfully neutralize the efforts of imperialist and reactionary forces who want to reestablish the sway of exploiters.

In connection with this, the draft action plan contains a system of effective and thought-out measures which most of all anticipate the further strengthening of the army and the sarandoy and their combat and political readiness and the consolidation and expansion of their links with the people as a vital factor for the revolution. The revolutionary sovereignty of the people is the major achievement of the victorious April Revolution. At the same time, this sovereignty (?is) a major political tool for the further maintenance and development of the revolution and the expansion and spreading of socioeconomic and cultural changes in the interest of the broad masses of the people. It is a reliable shield for defense of the gains of the revolution against the intrigues and conspiracies of external and internal reaction.

Therefore, the most important and greatest duty of the party is to complete the process of armed counterrevolution, to maintain and further consolidate revolutionary sovereignty in the areas where the undeclared war of reactionary forces is continuing and to maintain peace throughout the country.

The idea of lasting, all-national peace, which has been put forward by our party, requires the maintenance of normal, peaceful conditions for the beginning of joint discussions of existing problems and the settlement of these problems. Only such conditions can, in practice, open a way to the complete realization of all socioeconomic changes. Our approach to the essence and goals of the April Revolution is such that we must always remember that the aspirations and hopes of the majority of our people and the best sons of the people, who have struggled courageously and bravely for the freedom and prosperity of our beloved homeland, are being realized in the course of our revolutionary changes. It is a matter of great pride for all party members and the country that the patriots consistently work, struggle and live for this purpose. These proud slogans will have a high place in the history of the country, and future, noble generations will never forget the heroes who laid the foundations for building a new life in this land. [applause]

Comrades, our party gained power according to the will of the people and for their interests. This matter, too, defines the political aims, aspects and characteristics of the party in the social, economic and political areas. The realization of this policy in practice will have a great influence on improving the life of our people and every Afghan family. In formulating this policy, we relied on the realistic results which have been gained since the victory of the April Revolution and in particular its new development stage. These results have been comprehensively explained in the draft action plan. Therefore, I would like only to point out the following, which specifies the principled approach of the party and revolutionary sovereignty for the purpose of socioeconomic development.

Above all it must be remembered that the various forms and economic systems -- such as the state sector in industry and agriculture; the cooperative sector in the village and city; the state and private capitalist system, that is, the mixed economy; private capital in industry, transportation, agriculture and commerce; small handicraft production in the city and village, that is, peasants and artisans; the industrial economy of farmers in (?natural and seminatural) form and tribal economy -- have been created objectively and are in existence. At the national-democratic stage of the revolution this multisystem economy will be preserved. We do not intend to unnecessarily speed up the elimination of this economy, which has come about for historical reasons. On the contrary we, in our economic and social policy, with firmness and patience, work so we can make use of all forms and systems for the development of the country's productive forces and well-being of the people. Thus, the important social problem can also be solved, that is, we are strengthening the process of linking various social and national strata and groups who are situated at the (?nucleus) of these systems.

Finally, the development of productive forces -- by adoptive technology and contemporary techniques, the development of education and culture will allow us to eliminate this multisystem. The major role in this context will be played by the state sector. With the blessing of a planned and gradual increase in the role and importance of the state sector and planning the country's economy, giving (?preference) to the state sector, all economic resources will be employed more effectively and fully to serve progress, raise the level of material wellbeing of the workers and consolidate the country's defense power. But the party and government will take all necessary measures for the multisystem economy, not to the detriment of the working man but to improve living conditions and enhance the level of their material and cultural standards.

Comrades, our party's socioeconomic programs are realistic and based on existing conditions and possibilities. Thus, our party has paid constant attention to the country's economic problems and is implementing everything possible to consolidate the economy, to increase industrial power, to improve agriculture and commerce. Naturally, implementation of all these great tasks is not possible in a short time. In addition, the present conditions and situation, that is, the continuation of the undeclared war of imperialism and regional reaction, make its implementation more difficult. But the party and the revolutionary government announce that we do not desire and will not permit the postponement to an uncertain future of what can possibly be done today for the people. [applause]

Comrades, Afghanistan's backwardness and undevelopment is a temporary and passing phase. Of course (?it is the task) of the PDPA. [applause] Our country, Afghanistan, has overwhelming natural resources and riches, sufficient good agricultural land of which less than half is now under cultivation, and also has working, talented, noble and free people. The party is confident and believes that in the near future our homeland will be transformed into a developed country from the economic point of view; it will have a developed and advanced industry, fruitful agriculture, prosperous people, powerful, capable developed, healthy and politically advanced citizens. [applause]

Comrades, in the draft action plan special attention has been paid to the problems of agricultural development and improvement of the condition of farmers considering the characteristics of the Afghan economy. The PDPA's land policy relies on the fact that by eliminating the feudal system it could be possible to open a wider prospect for agricultural production and make use of greater opportunities in this regard.

The party and government of the people will firmly follow the policy of democratic solution of the land question with the direct participation of peasants, and increasing their role in this vital matter. In our opinion, new land relations must [words indistinct]. It is obvious that these relationships include logical limitation of individual landholding that will not harm the interests of others who have greater need for land. The possession of land by every one who has inherited it or who has received it as a result of land reform will be guaranteed within the limits of the law.

These new relationships will have one aim and that is to create agriculture conditions which will be in accord with social justice and the tenets of the sacred religion of Islam; peasants and workers should have sufficient land on which they and their families can live comfortably and increase agricultural production. Therefore, peasants will be helped to raise loans and will receive general and technical help in agriculture and veterinary services. Also, chemical fertilizers, seeds and agricultural tools will be put at their disposal on easy terms. Allround cooperation will be given to peasants to eliminate illiteracy and to develop cultural and other services. Our revolutionary government, as we have mentioned several times, takes into consideration the interests of producers and the goods needed by the people. It respects them and extends every kind of help toward their [word indistinct].

We also consider it our duty to give great help to the system of irrigation and the method of bringing new lands under cultivation, making extensive use of contemporary techniques, making use of the developed methods. The party and revolutionary government will assist in developing various types of farmers cooperatives, including production cooperatives, providing services and selling products. In the process of realizing this policy, voluntary membership in cooperatives will be emphatically observed and no kind of (?obligation) will be allowed. The life and experience of the farmer himself will show him that his interests are better protected within the cooperative than in isolation. No one can (?refuse) a good opportunity like this and this opportunity is provided for farmers in cooperatives.

The party's land policy pays attention to the traditions and customs of people and the principles of the sacred religion of Islam. The reform and the distribution of land and water, which previously belonged to feudals and moneylenders, will benefit those in need and the families of the (?landless and those with small pieces) of lands, according to justice and the limitation of landholding. This has been the historical hope of all farmers. Thus, for the first time in the history of our country, the farmers are given the opportunity to work freely for themselves and for the society of which they are members with full rights and [word indistinct].

Industry builds the material pillar of the homeland's progress, the elimination of backwardness and the creation of a developed, harmonious and balanced economy. Without machines, equipment and electricity, true development and progress will not take place and the needs of our people for a better and more suitable life will not be eliminated. Therefore, the revolutionary party and government rely on maintaining the continuous development and expansion of industry, energy, transportation and communications as the fundamental pillar of the country's (?economy), and consider it as an important factor of the first plan and the policy emanating from it. These principles, comrades, will form the foundation in accordance with the slogan; all the country is to be electrified. [applause] We appraise our conditions and opportunities realistically. Therefore, all (?our economic) plans have a realistic character and could be put into practice.

On the bases of these plans we could embark upon the realization of a more extensive economic plan in the future, so that dear Afghanistan will be transformed into an industrial country and with a modern, fruitful and developed agriculture. Comrades, here I clearly say that the aims of the plan [word indistinct] and the aspects of its realization should not prevent us from seeing and comprehending the urgent daily tasks. What we should unceasingly accomplish today should not be obscured. It is necessary that all factories, mills and mines work normally. Institutions, with raw materials and a workforce, but not working or not working at full production capacity should not be allowed. The force of revolutionary sovereignty and its capability could speedily solve the most complex and acute problems.

The development of production forces in the country, which is anticipated by the revolutionary party and government, [words indistinct] will bring about positive alterations in the social structure of our country. The social policy of our party reflects these changes and helps because the gains of the revolution belongs to all the workers and all patriotic forces, and their (?coordination) will assist toward the peace and progress of society.

With the blessing of the victory of the April Revolution and the logical social policy of the party, the role and importance of the working class of Afghanistan in the life of society is gradually, but continuously, increasing. Our workers, a class exploited by the feudalist bourgeois regimes and big capitalists, have been transformed into a class that collectively owns the means of production in the state sector.

The revolutionary party and government will in the future make efforts to organize workers in the state sector into a (?powerful) production force under national-democratic working conditions. The economic policy of the party and government is paying attention to and is directed toward creating a firm, dynamic, developing and strong (?economy) in the state sector, which in turn will help to achieve this goal of organizing a workers' force. A speedy development of the Afghan working class, which will come about as a result of pursuing such a policy, will have an increasing effect on all areas of social life and will strengthen the leading role of the party. We believe life demands joint and united work and struggle of all forces endeared to the interests of our beloved homeland.

We ask one question: Who and what forces (?take part) in the progress of the country? Are national capitalists and traders interested in the country's true development and progress? Are tribes, ethnic groups and nationalities of the country interested in this matter? Of course they are interested. Thus development and progress in all national areas will give an opportunity to us all -- to all persecuted people of Afghanistan -- to live better in the future. But the party and government know well that for national patriotic unity to be truly strong and unshakeable, it needs a strong sociopolitical pillar and foundation.

Such a foundation has been considered in the draft action plan. In this draft, classes, strata, groups, tribes, ethnic groups and nationalities will find correctly and specifically, as planned, the reflection and manifestation of our fundamental interests. To reach this goal every possible use must be made of the mixed and private sectors [words indistinct] in creating large state institutions which would constitute Afghanistan's industrial base.

The revolutionary government will create the necessary [word indistinct] trade union to give long-term, effective and mutual benefits to the private sector and national capitalists and the state within the framework of the mixed sector and in the form of private deals. The government expects unconditional and [words indistinct] of the country in the private sector and is aware of the problems and needs of the state and society and the methods of their solution and elimination through a logical approach and the employment of resources and investment in necessary projects according to mutually beneficial conditions. We know that this kind of cooperation will be reflected in the joint construction and exploitation of industrial establishments, communications and transportation and in creating new working conditions, improving the life of the people, stabilizing prices and finally in the general progress of the national economy.

The party and government are paying great attention in their social policy to the organization and management of effective cooperation with small traders and artisans, realizing their vital and important role in supplying the needs of the people for products and primary goods. The government will establish various forms of assistance to and cooperation with artisans and small traders on the basis of increasing its share in the production of goods in demand and the development of trade in the interest of the consumers, and the artisans and small traders themselves.

For the purpose of the development of the private sector, mutually beneficial forms of cooperation such as mixed cooperatives and a system of obtaining loans on easy terms will be formed. The dynamic development of all sectors of the national economy, complimentary to each other, should help toward eliminating the country's backwardness and in creating an effective national economy. I again emphasize that we, on behalf of the government, propose firm, long-term and true cooperation with national capitalists, small traders and artisans. We expect them to cooperate and participate in developing the homeland and the well-being of the people. Thus they will be transformed into participants in the process of the national-democratic changes in Afghanistan and will keep this position throughout the (?period) of this phase.

Comrades, our socioeconomic policy, which has emanated from the essence of national-democratic revolution, is directed toward strengthening and realizing the unity and cooperation of all classes, strata and national-democratic groups of Afghanistan. This policy creates the necessary basis for strengthening and increasing the effectiveness of the revolutionary government's cooperation with intellectuals for the purpose of expanding their participation in the development of science, techniques, literature and arts, and finally in the construction and all-round progress of the homeland. We look with appreciation at the fact that the best delegates and a considerable number of intellectuals have taken their place in the positions of progressive revolutionary theory. The revolutionary party and government will make indefatigable and consistent efforts to increase the ranks of revolutionary intellectuals as the best representatives of toilers by their joining them.

Comrades, we will not assess some aspects and questions of national policy. This is not a temporary and passing policy but has emanated from the essence of the April national-democratic revolution. In the long history of our homeland, the DRA is the first state to set as its goal the true material and moral progress of all inhabitants of the country, maintaining complete equality of rights and providing the opportunities for the all-round development of all the nationalities, tribes and ethnic groups of the country. Equal rights are being maintained and provided for them all to participate in social and state affairs, in realizing revolutionary changes and defending our beloved homeland. (?To create) and strengthen joint objective needs for all nationalities, tribes and ethnic groups of Afghanistan

means maintaining development of moral and material progress, mutual cooperation and understanding, friendship and brotherhood. The policy of our revolutionary government and party is also paying attention to this goal.

At the same time it should be pointed out that the revolutionary party and government respect and will continue to respect and observe the traditions, and the national, religious and cultural customs of the nationalities, tribes and ethnic groups of Afghanistan. The safeguarding and development of the laudible aspects of the traditions of all nationalities, tribes and ethnic groups is maintained and guaranteed. Our party and the DRA Government pursue with respect and appreciation the policy of trust, peace and cooperation which emanate from the essence of the April Revolution and which are in accord with the tenets of the sacred religion of Islam in connection with the role and importance of the Pashtun tribes in the history of our homeland, the defense of its borders and with respect to their traditions and customs.

Comrades, our principled approach to the solution of socioeconomic questions in the present stage of the revolution has already been mentioned. The realization and complete implementation of these tasks will provide an opportunity for our society to succeed in the [word indistinct] of moral and material development. Our compatriots will have a better life, they and their children will benefit from your toil and will make greater use of the possibilities, compared to now, in the areas of education and training. The government and (?society) will be able to extend further assistance and pay more attention to future conditions for youth, juveniles, women, old people and others. Comrades, the moral development of the people and the building of [words indistinct] of the education and culture of the country is one of the most important areas for our party.

The success of the April Revolution has provided the necessary conditions and bases for the development of culture and national and international arts to be put at the disposal of the broad masses of the people. It is clear that the implementation of such an aim needs long-term efforts by the party and all of society.

The majority of our people are illiterate or semiliterate. All these problems have increased as a result of the ideological aggression of imperialism and regional reaction in Afghanistan, and are being further complicated. There should be further work on all means to ideologically influence the people in accordance with the demands of the present and later stages of the revolution. Ideological, political, educational and training work should expand collectively under a plan and should thus help toward the development and establishment of revolutionary opinions and theories, norms and principles of progressive etiquettes, a new relationship regarding work, and all-round development of the initiatives of the toilers and extensive participation of all people in defending the gains of the revolution. The first steps in this direction have been taken. Based on the changes already implemented, strong blows have been dealt to the positions and roots of feudalism ideology, the remnants of national [word indistinct] and the ideological subversions of imperialism. [applause]

With the development of the production forces of society and alterations in social relations, the leading role of the party and its role and influence on the broad masses will enhance and increase.

In addition to this, the most important aspect in party political work is to maintain an unbreakable link with the people. People are the source of the power of the party and reflect its capability in life. Party political work as a whole -- all primary party organizations and committees, every full and candidate party member -- must pay attention to coordinating and uniting the broad masses of the people around the party so as to help to consolidate and defend the gains of the revolution, maintain peace on a national level, and later implement democratic changes in the interest of our homeland and people. Comrades, the power of a revolutionary party is embedded in its organization, unity and solidarity. The historical path and political experience of the PDPA clearly proves that success and victory are maintained only by unity of action. When unity is weakened the party faces weakness and defeat, even its existence faces danger.

Under the present conditions our party is in need of unbreakable and organic unity more than ever before. Only under these conditions can the party accomplish its leading role in deepening and defending the revolution; only under these conditions will our party be able to successfully rally our noble and freedom-loving people around it to achieve a prosperous future. [applause]

Comrades, the party believes that every effort to disrupt unity and solidarity in the party ranks, and signs of factionalism and groupings contradict the lofty role of the party as the political vanguard and leading force of society. The basic interests and historic responsibility of the party before the people consider all signs of factionalism and groupings as being contrary to the proud name of the party and [word indistinct] its existence in the ranks. [applause]

Delegate comrades, our party is the political vanguard of the working class and all toilers of Afghanistan. We should always pay attention to the fact that the ranks of the party are filled with the best, most active and most aware delegates of toilers. This matter constitutes the major source of the life and wealth of the party and its capability to work and struggle. Special attention should be paid to keeping pure and clean the ranks of the party. Assured methods for dealing with individuals who are inclined to anarchism, who do not accept discipline and who are stained with alien ideology should be developed. [applause]

One other issue to be dealt with is work with cadres. The major duty of the party committees in this regard is to search for, train and organize cadres loyal to the revolution and people. A serious struggle must be waged against the remnants and detrimental inclinations toward factionalism, the lack of trust and (?sectorism) against new party members, the election and appointment of cadres on the basis of nepotism, localism and the peculiarities of tribalism and ethnicity. [applause] Practical and political characteristics are the best guide for the election and selection of cadres. Adherence and loyalty to this principle shows the power and strength of the party and enhances its authority among the people. All these and some other questions concerning party life have been reflected in the action plan. Some of this life inside the party must also be reflected in the charter of the party.

The party as a social phenomenon is like a living organism which is permanently developing and evolving and which does not accept delay or stagnation. The party does not have the right to and must not be satisfied with what it has achieved. A critical appraisal of the gains and a critical approach of one's activity display the seriousness of the party and its members; it is the sign of the power and capability of the party as a vanguard. In addition, committees and party primary organizations are dutybound to make use of every effort to complete and improve their work and activity, to permanently increase the effectiveness and enhancement of the general level of work and struggle. The draft action plan will undoubtedly raise all party work to a new and higher level. It is our duty to make every step and every plan comply with the action plan and thus accomplish our assigned duties.

The action plan of the PDPA and major duties of the party and revolutionary government:

Comrades, assessing and approving the action plan is of principle importance for the party, government and society. Theoretical assessment and practical approach of our party with regard to the problems of the present phase of the national-democratic revolution in Afghanistan and its prospects are explained in the action plan. This constructive document of instruction has been prepared in accordance with the conditions and present situation in the party, country and region.

Our party, the revolutionary government and broad social circles of our country have left behind a great path and have gained a new sociopolitical and economic-ideological experience, particularly after the new stage of the April Revolution. The draft action plan reflects the characteristics of the present phase, that is the phase of implementing primary national-democratic changes and the struggle to defend them. We have not succeeded in implementing all national-democratic changes, but we consistently and firmly have carried out and are carrying out changes that are considered to be the necessary and correct (?factors) for carrying out the sum national-democratic tasks in the future. We will definitely implement these tasks. We have laid their foundation with confidence, trust and success. When we talk about the present phase, that is, the phase in which the action plan is being prepared and processed for the implementation of tasks related to it, we have this subject matter in consideration. Therefore, in the action plan, major attention is paid to how the essence of the party's policy is reflected in the specific measures to realize this policy. We, as a ruling party, have total and full responsibility before our people and history in carrying out and realizing these tasks as our aims. It will never be forgotten that history and people will judge us not only on the bases of our aims and principles -- no matter how lofty or noble they may be -- but in accordance with our capability in their realization and their practical implementation in the interest of all. Our party action plan clearly and completely reflects the basic interests of the major stimulant forces of the revolution -- that is, the working class, peasants, revolutionary intellectuals and the broad masses of the toilers. At the same time it explains the true, realistic and correct ways and methods to increase their role in the party, government and society.

Our aims and goals are clear: We want what the decisive majority of our proud people demand, that is, we desire the safeguarding of the freedom and independence of the country and the progress and prosperity of our beloved homeland, so that every individual in the country can live and work in freedom and prosperity, has a comfortable life from the material and moral point of view and can enjoy living in peace in the country and the family. But a handful of low and unworthy enemies, the servants and low collaborators of feudals, sardars, moneylenders, reactionaries and international imperialism, raise obstacles in the way of realizing what is needed by the people. They set fire to mosques, schools, hospitals; they loot the people's foodstuffs; they disrupt the work of communications and transportation; they disrupt the agriculture and cultivation work of the people and kill defenseless people. They carry out all these crimes and filthy deeds in the name of defending the belief, faith and the freedom of the country. Shame upon these black faced slanderers! [applause]

You ask who could trample underfoot the sacred feelings of our faithful Muslims? Who prevents them from observing their religious rites? Who prevents our workers from living in peace and prosperity? The answer is clear. Those who are continuing the undeclared war against Afghanistan. Unfortunately, a number of citizens, due to force and/or deception, have not understood the goals and aims of the revolutionary party and government, are still members of rebel bands and embark on a fratricidal war. They thus commit grave sins before the nation and the people.

These actions have created disquiet and tension in the political and military situation in the country and cause serious problems for industry, agriculture and commerce. The action plan and the situation in the country require all the party, state organs, all social organs incorporated in the National Fatherland Front [NFF] concentrate attention on implementing major and very important tasks. Therefore, because of this need, we must create a united and collective system for defense of the revolution and the people, comprising the armed forces, sarandoy, revolution defense groups, tribal militia, local resistance groups and regional defense units. And we should, with consistency and decisiveness and further (?skill), form groups of patriots and strengthen them so they can be active in every province and every district. Effective and assuring (?actions) by the defense groups must be maintained in every institute, village and other locality.

Our people have a proud tradition of defending their honor, may the ground under the feet of the bandits, the servants and the collaborators of international reaction, all those who disrupt the peaceful and tranquil life of our country, be transformed into fire and flames. [applause] Party committees in the provinces, cities and districts must pay serious and decisive attention to ensuring that the masses more decisively take in hand the matter of defending the revolution until its final victory. The armed forces, sarandoy and Khad [state information services] constitute the basic and decisive force in maintaining complete victory against counterrevolutionaries. The party Central Committee, the DRA Revolutionary Council and the Council of Ministers are paying constant attention to its strengthening.

The technical equipping and combat readiness of the units and companies of the armed forces and sarandoy have been considerably enhanced and troops, NCO's and officers carry out their duties and responsibilities to the homeland and revolution with nobility. At the same time, there are still questions to be resolved concerning the readiness of the armed forces, the sarandoy units and companies, building and consolidating the armed forces and security organs and safeguarding social order is the duty of all the party and social organizations. The armed forces must be strengthened, their (?ranks) should be filled with new cadres; the level of their political and combat readiness should be enhanced and permanent and consistent attention must be paid to this matter. Their links with the broad masses of the people must be strengthened. We all of us, after the victory of the April Revolution, and particularly during its initial stage, learned many things. Now we must courageously and decisively transfer the center of gravity of conscious work and struggle to the provinces, districts and villages. The major task of the central organs, party, revolutionary government, ministries and departments and the NFF should be to maintain this activity.

Comrades, the efforts of the party and people in defense of the revolution and the principle of complete victory over the enemies of revolution, must be consistent and in unity with the improvement of all works in the areas of [word indistinct]. We all must understand clearly and correctly, and realize that success in development of the economy, success in implementing the land and water reforms and solving other acute social problems is counted as the key to winning the confidence of the masses for the party and the revolution. This matter must not be postponed until the final crushing of counterrevolution and the maintenance of peace on the national (?level). The people should feel today the care and attention of the party and the revolutionary government and the benefits of the new social cadre; so far we have only been able to raise the wages of workers and employees and the salaries of government staff. The total expenditures for their work amount to 1.5 billion Afghanis a year. But to solve social problems in the future, an effective increase in production is needed in all areas and sectors of the economy.

Where and on what things should we concentrate the efforts of the state and the party? Our first task is to firmly develop industrial production and agriculture by eliminating existing problems. The party must consider this its major task, because the solution of acute socioeconomic problems, constitutes the major front of struggle for a new and prosperous Afghanistan. At the present time, party committees in the provinces and districts and the organs of state power in localities should pay attention to matters related to ring cultivation. Measures to maintain security and help peasants and cooperatives in the form of giving them sowing seeds, chemical fertilizer, working tools and technical equipment, must be realized. At the same time and in every place possible, land reform should continue in accordance with the decisions of the Politburo, the Revolutionary Council and the Council of Ministers. Consistent and serious work must be done achieving this for the toiling peasants.

We now turn to matters related to industry, transportation, energy and communications:

The provincial, city and district party committees, state organs, foremost ministries and central departments are dutybound to concentrate all their attention on reactivating all institutions and economic projects which have been destroyed or damaged by the enemies. The cement factory in Herat, the textile mills in Herat and Quandhar, sugar factories and irrigation establishments -- that is, those establishments with a higher grade of readiness -- must be activated as soon as possible. These establishments must work and present their production to the people. The party Central Committee and the Council of Ministers must intensify control, and the heads of ministries and central departments and local state organs must seriously carry out (?control) work. [applause]

We speak frankly and clearly. Most of the party comrades are still unfamiliar with the work of the industry, transportation, energy and communications departments and pay little attention to solving economic problems in the provinces, cities and districts. Party committees rarely assess and appraise matters related to economic life. (?They think) this is the concern only of government organs. The economy is precisely politics. At the same time, it should be pointed out that this work demands the constant efforts of all of the party. With regard to this, it is thought suitable that the assessment of economic matters should be omitted from regular sessions of the party Central Committee; only specified measures for the development and strengthening of the economy should be considered in this plenum. (?Party committees) must be appointed to lead economic commissions and individual economic activity. As is known, matters related to the improvement and completion of economic planning must be assessed in this plenum, because this matter is considered to be the most important condition for developing the country's economy.

Comrades, preparation for the party's national conference (?proved) to be a serious test of our achievements in all spheres of life and in the life of the party. [applause] It demonstrated that the party truly constitutes the central nucleus of the new socio-political system. The party has developed qualitatively, has consolidated organizationally and truly fulfills the role of the leading force of our society. [applause] In the armed forces, 60 percent of those who have been accepted as candidate members of the party have a working and peasant (?background). [applause] These are not bad results. In the future, too, serious attention must be paid to the qualitative development of party ranks. But improving the qualitative structure of the party is no less important.

What kind of people should be accepted as party members? The answer to this is simple and clear: Those who defend the revolution with [word indistinct]; those who gain victories with their work and blood! [applause] Workers, peasants, artisans, troops and NCO's of the armed forces and sarandoy must be accepted more than others to the party. Of course, to do this it is necessary to draft and provide defined conditions of acceptance in the party.

I would like to talk about another important problem which has a special importance at the present time for building the party. Party provincial, city, district, ward and local committees are dutybound to organize the work of recruiting new members and increasing party forces, so that there exist party organizations in every department, in every production establishment, in every subdistrict and village and in every residential area in the cities. This forms the base, foundation and pillar of the party. Party committees should pay serious attention to the party primary organizations. Only thus will it be possible to maintain the permanent and all-round influence of the party on the masses. Prior to convening the party national conference, party meetings and conferences were held in the primary organizations of districts, wards, cities and provinces. These meetings were held in the units and companies of the armed forces, sarandoy and Khad. During this campaign, the party gained ample experience in organizational and political work, because such meetings and conferences were held in our party for the first time. In the decisive majority of party organizations, the meetings and conferences were carried out with high discipline and order and on a high level in the presence and activity of the party's full members and candidate members. [applause] This fact strengthened, consolidated and enriched it with experience.

Of course, this work was not free of problems and shortcomings. In some of the organizations [words indistinct] of the agenda first matters, that is the results and decisions of the Central Committee's seventh plenum and the tasks of the party organizations in relation to them, reports and the existing reality, and what the party organization should have rendered, differed from each other. This condition resulted chiefly from the lack of experience of party activists. But in this condition we should pay attention to this fact: that most of the party committees do not specifically and definitely accomplish the tasks set before them. Therefore, we must draw serious conclusions and work more seriously to improve the methods of party committee activities.

On the other hand, there still exist serious defects in matters related to the organizational consolidation of the party, ideological training and discipline and party order among the members. In electing candidate delegates to high party (?ranks), most of all in the armed forces and sarandoy and some ministries, the seeds of the old disease, that is factionalism, are still in evidence. Some party members, forgetting party discipline and order, have made efforts to create a tense atmosphere in meetings and to lead meetings toward incorrect deeds contrary to the instructions of the party Central Committee concerning the method of electing delegates. Some went ahead, through propaganda and preaching, to implement the principles of bourgeois [word indistinct] democracy in the life of our revolutionary party. Voices of aliens and enemies come from the throats of these individuals. They have surrendered themselves to the conspiracies of the enemy who, with great interest, wants disunity, lack of our trust, lack of confidence, doubt and hostility in the ranks of our party. As you know, these plans were once again foiled. [applause and cheers]

The Central Committee and all healthy and principled members of the party are always consolidating the unity of the party and enhancing the level of its organization and discipline. We once again point out that the incorrect deeds of some individuals were rejected by the decisive majority of party organizations. [applause] I think that in connection with these comrades, patience and attention must be employed. Talk to them and describe to them the principles of a revolutionary party and the importance of discipline and organization. If this proves ineffective, then there is no other way but to employ the measures anticipated in the charter. [applause] Those who do not obey discipline and who trample underfoot the measures and decisions of the party cannot belong to the party. [applause and cheers]

It must be understood that the party is powerful because of the discipline and organization of its members. I would like to point out once again that we, in order to consolidate the unity of the party, must have great patience and think on a higher level. We believe in our strength and we are proud of it, but patience and tolerance of the old disease of factionalism from wherever it may appear, or the nonacceptance of discipline and organization, cannot be without limits. [applause and cheers] When this condition becomes detrimental to the party and inflicts damage on and stains its high authority, then we must seek out these irresponsible individuals who are indifferent to the party's destiny and who consider their personal pride more important than party authority. [applause] Development is only strengthened and consolidated as a result of the purging of elements with a wayward spirit and an irresponsible approach. [applause and cheers]

Comrades, at the present time the provision and distribution of membership cards is continuing in the party. This is an important event in the life of our party. It is the duty of party committees to make complete use of this extensive work in order to consolidate unity and create order as an [word indistinct] in party affairs. Special attention is paid in the Politburo, Secretariat and departments of the Central Committee to electing, appointing and training cadres, because the staff who are included in the lists of authorities subject to the inspection of party committees are considered to be the political organizers of the masses and the leaders of the most important aspects of work.

Several times we have spoken in the Central Committee and Politburo in connection with the importance of working with cadres and the need to improve their readiness. I would like to point out once again that party committees are dutybound to decisively and relentlessly fight against every kind of deviation from the policy of the party concerning cadres, because the contents of all of our work and its effectiveness and the authority of the party depend on this matter. The best scale for assessing cadres is their practical and political characteristics. We should consider more and more the multinational character of the country. We should help in selecting suitable and capable candidates of the nationalities, tribes and various ethnic groups and in placing them in responsible posts in the party and government organs in the capital and provinces.

Comrade delegates, our great success -- the further development of the revolution and defending its gains -- decisively depends on the participation of the broad masses, their activity, support and awareness. Therefore, mass political work in the field of ideology is a major tool for attracting workers and the broad masses of the people, in particular workers and peasants, and is very important in implementing revolutionary changes and in defending them.

In the draft action plan, the necessary attention has been paid to this matter. The principles and methods of collective work, political and publicity activities have been formulated in the decisions and resolutions of the plenums of the Politburo, Secretariat and Central Committee. I would like to speak about some of the most important tasks in this sphere, which are related to the approval of the action plan and other [word indistinct] documents.

Before anything else, the entire party educational system must be raised to a higher level. Each member of the party must learn the theoretical principles of the party policy and know how to put these policies into practice and how to describe and explain them to others in language they will understand. Special attention must be paid to the party education and ideological maturity of the full and candidate members. Youths and new members constitute more than [words indistinct]. There is no more important task for the party than to bring to every compatriot its revolutionary (?truth) and to encourage every Muslim individual and all strata of the people to work conscientiously and live an active life. In order to do this, ideological work must be carried out and a variety of tasks undertaken so the truth of the April Revolution and the policy of the party can be disseminated to all strata and groups of the people regardless of their characteristics, conditions, thinking, opinions, traditions, level of assessment and cultural standards. These truths must be comprehensible to all. In order to engage in political work among the masses, the power of the entire party and of all party leaders, social organizations and state organs must be harnessed.

Now that a new era is beginning in this work, all attention must be paid to widespread publicity of the decisions and resolutions of the party national conference. The essence of the first plan [words indistinct], its fundamental forms concerning the ways of development of our society and the policy of the party and revolutionary government must be explained to all our compatriots. A vibrant word, a comprehensive, popular and attractive party dogma, is our major weapon. The party committees are dutybound to bring this fact to the attention of party activists and to make sure that the people profoundly understand the principle aims of the party. They should try to [word indistinct] the PDPA action plan in the active records of the broad masses of the people.

At the same time, use should be made of publicity and propagation work in its [words indistinct] with courage and decisiveness. The effectiveness of this has been proved in practice. This work must be done more actively among those inhabitants who lived or are still living under the oppression of counterrevolutionaries. The mass media plays a great role in implementing this task. A lot of work has been done recently to raise the level and standard of publications, the press, radio and television. Now the time is ripe to vigorously intensify this work. They must convey the thinking of the party, its aims and ideological documents to the masses of the people in a simple and comprehensible form. They must, in the true sense of the word, be preachers, propagators and collective organizers of (?the masses).

At the same time, the present condition and situation demands the intensification of struggle against the ideological subversion carried out by our enemies and the skillful and timely exposure of the hostile slanders spread by those who want to distort the policy of our party and government. Ideological work is a major task to be carried out among the masses. This means urging the masses to rise in struggle against counterrevolutionaries, unifying them around the party and securing their support in completing and implementing revolutionary changes.

Comrades, our party believes that revolutionary changes in our country depend not only on internal conditions but on external ones as well. Therefore, our revolutionary party and government are trying to maintain the most suitable foreign political conditions for the realization of these changes and for the people's benefit. However, in order to do this we need peace. The unshakeable determination and desire for the revival and consolidation of peace in the region and throughout the world is a major and basic aspect of the approach of our revolutionary party and government. This fact defines the essence of our foreign policy.

The PDPA and the DRA Government believe that Afghanistan's sovereignty and freedom and the prosperity and welfare of its people can be maintained only by the constant strengthening and development of fraternal friendship and fruitful cooperation with the great USSR. [applause] This friendship and cooperation is the foundation of the foreign policy of the new Afghanistan and constitutes a vital and important factor in the defense of our beloved homeland and in the current changes of the April Revolution. [applause] Our party and government attach great importance to deepening and expanding fraternal relations with the ruling parties, governments and people of socialist countries and highly assess the achievements of these countries in building a new society. [applause]

We are determined to expand and consolidate our fraternal relations and industrial cooperation with the great USSR and other socialist countries in such spheres as economy, trade, education, culture, technology as a necessary condition for the development of our country. [applause]

Our country respects and strictly observes the UN Charter and principles and is determined to base its relations with other countries on them without regard for differing sociopolitical systems and in accordance with the principles of respect for national sovereignty and independence, equality of rights, territorial integrity, noninterference and nonaggression in other's internal affairs. We will make a serious effort to consolidate and expand mutually beneficial relations, friendship and cooperation with the brotherly Muslim countries and people in a joint struggle for peace, disarmament, human rights and progress. The party, government and people of Afghanistan will firmly and relentlessly consolidate their unity and solidarity with all the people of the world in jointly struggling for peace, international detente, disarmament and the prohibition and elimination of atomic weapons, for the friendship of people, democracy, human rights and social progress against the forces of imperialism, aggression and reaction. [applause] We support the struggles of all [words indistinct] for freedom, independence, national and social progress. [brief passage indistinct]

The people of Afghanistan deeply respect the traditional friendship with the people of India. The DRA will try to expand and consolidate its relations and cooperation with India. [applause] The government and people of the DRA will pay great attention to relations with the brotherly Islamic people and will try to improve these relations in the interests of our peoples and all Muslim people of Asia, world peace and progress. The DRA rejects the policy of isolated and separate dealings in the Middle East and completely supports the Arab people in their struggle to eliminate imperialist and Zionist aggression.

In its foreign policy for the region and the world, the PDPA and the DRA Government work for international detente and the consolidation of an atmosphere of cooperation and confidence in the world.

Comrades, the (?adoption) of the action plan is an historic event in the life of our party and country. This plan defines the results of the course chosen by the party. It contains the theory of the present phase of the national-democratic revolution and the prospects for its development and deepening. Based on progressive revolutionary theory, the action plan deals with the practical aspects of life and creates a scientific basis for the creative understanding of social reality and for the seeking out of new forms, methods and ways to implement assigned duties effectively. The relentless and consistent implementation of the action plan will acquire international importance.

With the normalization of the situation in our country, the work to consolidate the revolutionary order will be maintained in accordance with national-democratic traditions. The crushing of armed counterrevolutionaries will help to stabilize the situation in the region, in Asia and on the international level as a whole. [applause] This helps to create conditions for consolidating and strengthening peaceful coexistence and mutually beneficial cooperation, in which all the people of the world are interested.

Long live the PDPA, the political vanguard of our people, the organizing and leading force of the new social order in Afghanistan! [applause]
Comrades, forward hand in hand under the proud banner of the April Revolution! [applause]
Forward toward new victories! [applause]
Forward toward unbreakable and steel-like unity of our party! [applause]
We will be victorious! [applause]

Gol Aqa Address

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[Speech by Brig Gen Gol Aqa, member of the PDPA Central Committee and chief of political affairs of the DRA Armed Forces, at the PDPA national conference in Kabul -- recorded]

[Text] With the permission of beloved and dear Comrade Babrak Karmal, general secretary of the PDPA Central Committee and president of the DRA Revolutionary Council; respected members of the Politburo; esteemed delegates and dear guests.

We heard the report of Comrade Babrak Karmal with great attention and we support it completely. [applause] Pursuing the report and the instructions of Comrade Babrak Karmal, we will make every effort to expand the party's influence and complete and enhance the effectiveness of political work in the armed forces by implementing these instructions. Political work, or in other words party political work, in the army of revolutionary Afghanistan is a new event, which was made possible only with the victory of the glorious April Revolution and the gaining of power by our revolutionary party, the PDPA. We say to the participants of the first national party conference that political work in the armed forces has become strengthened and has been transformed into an effective tool to assist our officers, political commanders and staff in coordinating the army staff implement their combat duties. The majority of our officers, NCO's and troops serve the people, revolution and the party with courage and sacrifice. This fact is completely proved and indicated by the innumerable sacrifices of our men and officers in the struggle against the rebel bands. [applause] Mention was made in this conference of those comrades who have distinguished themselves in combat operations and have succeeded in receiving medals, badges and extraordinary promotions. It must be added that the proud members of our party are positioned in the front ranks of the fight. [applause]

The development of party organizations in the armed forces and the desire and inclination of senior officers and troops to join the ranks of the PDPA at this difficult time indicates and proves the expansion of the influence of party and political work. During the last 9 months of this year, compared with the same period last year, the number of candidate members of the PDPA has increased 2.3 times. [applause] At the same time, the number of representatives from the working and peasant class increased by 3 times. At present, in our armed forces, an orderly educational system and political information for all categories of military staff, staff and workers has been established. Teaching books have been prepared and printed by the armed forces political department for teaching political lessons to troops, NCO's and officers. We have also published pictorial albums and literature which have been highly valued by Babrak Karmal and members of the PDPA Central Committee Politburo. In training work, extensive use has been made of films, radio and, in some units, where possible, television.

They [as heard] spoke about the attention and kindness of the Central Committee, the Politburo and Comrade Babrak Karmal personally [applause] regarding them. Comrade Babrak Karmal met with the staff of the Jalabad air force and air defense garrisons graduates of the armed forces educational establishment. He presented medals and badges to outstanding heroes. All this kindness has been considered historical by the personnel of the armed forces. It is unforgettable and we express our most profound thanks to Comrade Babrak Karmal for his attention. [applause]

The esteemed members of the Politburo also pay great attention to our heroic armed forces. Secretaries of the Central Committee have visited units and companies. Recalling the positive aspects of our political work, we would like to point out that in the activity of the armed forces Department of Political Affairs, the political organs and the party organizations, shortcomings and unsolved problems still exist. We must increase further work among the masses: We must take the necessary measures to neutralize the infiltration of bourgeois ideology and the propaganda of the enemies. Instead we must engrave in the minds of our troops hatred toward the enemies of the revolution. We must improve the joint political and practical efforts of political organs, large units and companies and political workers of the units, with the party local organs, in order to implement the publicity and explanation work among the masses.

Keshtmand Speech

LD261630 Kabul in English to Europe 1900 GMT 25 Mar 82

[Speech by Soltan 'Ali Keshtmand, chairman of the DRA Council of Ministers and member of the PDPA Central Committee Politburo, at PDPA national conference in Kabul; date not given -- read by announcer]

[Text] The members of our party and the toilers of our country were happily awaiting the convention of the countrywide conference of the PDPA because this conference, which is an important event in the recent history of our country, plays not only (?a great role) in the growth and evolution of our party but in the life of our society as a whole. The conference, its resolutions and (?results make heavier and great) the duties and responsibilities of each member of the party organization and authorities.

Our main duties at the present stage and the basic (?instructions) of the program of action of the PDPA have been wholesidedly explained in the scientific speech of Comrade Babrak Karmal, general secretary of the PDPA Central Committee and president of the DRA Revolutionary Council. The program of action reflects the (?relevant) and tireless attention of our party in the interests of our people and for blossoming and strengthening the power of our fatherland. Meanwhile, it clearly depicts the economic policy of the party and opens a broad prospect for continuous economic development of our country. The program of action in this way (?formally) is the main objectives of the party [words indistinct] for the years ahead. It reminds of the duty to achieve the socioeconomic development of our country, to show the direction of national economic development and the rule of efficient practice for (?crucial) production and improvement of the structure of the economy, as well as the path to achieve rapid development. This means taking steps towards the creation and development of a proportional national economy, better utilization of organizational affairs for the improvement of economic production systems.

We have recently assessed the results of the socioeconomic activities of the country during 1981. The results of this assessment show that we have achieved comparative success in the technical and production sectors. The social programs are implemented successfully and our defense power has increased. The increase of 1.5 percent in the gross domestic production and 3.4 percent in the national income for the year 1981 as compared to the year 1980 reveals comparative economic growth.

If the undeclared war of imperialism and their Chinese accomplices, reaction and their mercenaries and lackeys was not continuing against our homeland and people and if we had succeeded in overcoming the shortcomings in the work of some ministries, government offices, enterprises and organizations the socioeconomic development of the country would have been even greater.

Considerable progress has been forecasted in the area of economic and social development of the country in the formulation of the 1982 socioeconomic development plan.

The value of general national production will increase by 6.3 percent, of which agricultural production will show an increase of 3.1 percent and industrial production an increase of 10.3 percent. Rehabilitation of construction and new projects, utilization of the maximum capacity and the (?starting) of new projects formulates the policy of the party in the area of socioeconomic development, reflected in the 1982 annual socioeconomic plan.

As a whole the socioeconomic development plan of the country shows and guarantees the correct and resolute participation of our party towards continuous socioeconomic development of our society. The perspectives of our future plans, specified in the program of action of the PDPA, forecast development in the fields of oil and natural gas industries, exploitation of ores, [word indistinct] of all the iron and coppermine enrichment (?complexes), electricity, construction materials industry, construction industry, heavy and light industries, expansion and development of geological research activities and expansion of communications (?affairs).

In this way our revolutionary government will be able to manage the process of economic growth and make the proper use of the superiority of planning system in national economic affairs, improve and promote commerce in the interests of the people. The speeding up of the growth of the state sector and setting up of huge state industrial institutions will result in the increase of the number of skilled workers, rise of the levels of their vocational skill and consciousness and their cooperation. Thus the workers will be transformed into an important and potential power and vanguard in our society.

According to envisaged plans, overall 63 new projects will be set up in the year 1982. It is worth mentioning that the (?role) of cooperation and aid of the USSR to these projects, as well as to tens of other important projects, is outstanding. In this connection we would like to make some remarks.

After the victory of the Saur Revolution, especially its new and evolutionary phase, friendly relations between Afghanistan and the USSR have been upgraded into brotherly revolutionary solidarity and all-sided cooperation. The great country of the Soviet Union has rendered great assistance to our country in the fields of growth of industries, water power, agriculture and irrigation, construction, transport and telecommunications, as well as in the development of education, public health and cultural affairs. The contribution of the Soviet Union in the state budget for the year 1982 is more than 10 milliard Afs or 3 percent of the whole budget. In financing the plans of the year 1982 this contribution and aid as in previous years reaches about 70 percent of the total credit and aid from foreign sources. In addition, in order to help workers and peasants and other strata of the toiling people of Afghanistan, the Soviet Union helps a lot [as heard] of consumer goods to our country.

In brief, we can mention that economic aid and all-sided backing of the Soviet Union in the promotion of Afghanistan's economy plays a great role and is a guarantee to the successful realization of revolutionary objectives for which our party and people are eternally grateful.

While we speak about the importance of the state's economic development (?picture) in the country, we pay special attention to the private sector, which enjoys the possibility of considerable resources for development of production (?volume and employment in the present stage). A principled approach based on honest and (?continuing cooperation with the public sector is made in the program of action of the PDPA because under the present circumstances the dynamic growth of all sectors of national economy which are complimentary to each other profits the necessary grounds for the economic growth of the country.

The issue of land reform, which is one of the most important socioeconomic issues in our country, and the continuation of just and democratic implementation is ahead of us as one of our priorities. The old unjust feudalistic relations, the resolute heritage of which remains in the villages, is the basic cause of backwardness and poverty of the majority of our people, that is to say, the peasants. Therefore, the PDPA attaches great importance in its land and agricultural policy to the implementation of democratic land reform, for total elimination of the feudalistic relations in the villages of the country. It is as a result of completion of the land reform process and solution of land issues in the country that the grounds for the rapid development of the productive forces are availed and bring such an order so that the farmers enjoy directly the results of their hard work. Therefore, they improve their living conditions, mobilize themselves voluntarily in the agricultural cooperatives and increase agricultural production.

All the party and state organizations shoulder heavy responsibilities for the realization of the democratic land and water reforms. This is the demand of the current phase of the revolution, the demand of toiling peasants and the demand of our time and we must reply to it positively.

Dear comrades, the successful execution of the great and long-term formulated duties of the program of action of the party requires from us emphasis on the necessity to achieve further efficiency and practical activity, improvement of systems and [word indistinct] of work, organization and pursuance of party and state discipline, enhancement of the individualistic responsibilities of cadres and the duties assigned to them because only the formulation of sound and principled policies are sufficient and we must properly and successfully implement this policy. The PDPA has formulated great and onerous duties in its program of action, which by itself reveals the new possibilities after the victory of the Saur Revolution and its new and evolutionary phase as a result of establishing of the new order in our country. With the execution of the important duties formulated in the program of action, distinct possibilities for the building of a new society void of exploitation of man by man and creation of new social relations are created. The program of action which reveals the vital interests, ambitions of the people of Afghanistan and (?underlines) the path of peoples toward new development can attract the support of the vast masses of toilers toward the policy of party and government.

The friendly and voluntary work competitions for execution of plans and duties, mass initiatives and other patriotic initiatives must be organized on the basis of the program of action. I mean preparedness of people to increase the national wealth, consolidation of defense power and defending the gains of the revolution being ensured. The solidarity of the masses of people toward supporting the party, revolution, Central Committee, Political Bureau, and at the head of this support for Comrade Babrak Karmal himself, must be manifested by the realization of the program of action.

Ziray Speech

LD282100 Kabul Domestic Service in Dari 1730 GMT 22 Mar 82

["Excerpt" of speech by Dr Soveh Mohammad Ziray, member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the PDPA Central Committee, at PDPA National Conference in Kabul, date unspecified -- recorded]

[Text] Esteemed Comrade Babrak Karmal, esteemed comrade delegates and comrade guests; [passage indistinct] as we listened to the clear and comprehensive report of Comrade Babrak Karmal, [applause] in which the great accomplished activity of the party, the richness of thinking and collective experience and the developing political, ideological and organizational maturity were noted in depth, we senior delegates with experience in the party, the delegates of its first congress, could sincerely agree, we struggled for these valuable days and we are definitely sacrificing our lives for this path.

The PDPA action plan defines and guides our advance toward a clear and prosperous future, and it is the best answer to all basic questions about the present revolutionary phase. We who have studied in depth the action plan can point out with satisfaction that it clarifies the nature of what our party, the PDPA, is fighting for, and how we can further the prosperity our people and build our country.

The action plan and its practical methods are contained specifically and broadly in Comrade Babrak Karmal's report. Of course, its importance cannot be stated in these few moments, but it is more comprehensive, deeper and more detailed. This document of aims is an independent document which contains the party's strategy and tactics in the present stage of the national democratic revolution. And the sum of tasks regarding its practical realization in various areas of activities has been profoundly and comprehensively recorded. Alteration in the charter and its amendment which will be taken into consideration is principally very important for party life.

In addition, it is also important that our party is conditioned in the process of serious quantitative and qualitative development and the consolidation, strengthening and maintenance of practical experiences which have been accumulated as a ruling party. Thus there is no vital and important question left for our party and people to which a healthy and logical answer has not been provided by the conference. Now its implementation depends on the party. Now it has only to be seen how all the committees, organizations and all party members understand all aspects and decisions and put them into practice in all their activity. A major question is asked here: What is to be done to implement this task? And on what does its successful accomplishment depend? I declare with sincere belief that first of all unity of opinion, unity of intention and unity of action and organization are necessary for this. [applause] Not merely one progressive revolutionary party but all international revolutionary experiences and the specific experiences of our party also teach us this fact. It is true that whenever our party has temporarily lost unity it has faced defeat and has come under fatal attack. Following the revival and consolidation of its unity, our party has gained many victories and has expanded relations with the people. Now our party is united and those who want to divide our party by any means after this are doomed to failure. [applause]

But, comrades, life and specially elections to and preparations for the conference clearly showed that the unity and level of its consolidation secured to date is not sufficient. There are still signs of suspicion, insincerity, unfriendly behavior and lack of cooperation in our party ranks. This indicates that the party's unity is unfortunately still not maintained in its organized form. And work is still needed for its further consolidation because in its absence our move toward the aims of the lofty April Revolution will be faced with difficulties. Mistakes, fears and the doubts of yesterday also cast a shadow on the unity today.

Specific and comprehensive instructions have been presented in this regard in Comrade Karmal's report and the action plan. We have one united and common charter, whose observance is necessary and vital for all members from top to bottom. And whether people like it or not, it will be adopted. [applause] So the present signs and so-called factional tendencies have a subjective nature. More correctly, they could be referred to as groupings and [word indistinct] nepotism. And before we all reach the conclusion that some groups of individuals in the party want to promote persons close to them to the leading party authorities and thus damage unity in party ranks, let me say that the party no longer allows this kind of behavior. [applause] Esteemed comrades, in order to avoid misunderstanding I would like to say directly that such incidents cannot be attributed to any particular group but that they are the vestiges of a long-standing split in the party which is unfortunately still obvious in practice. It is the duty of all of us -- and also the fault of all as well -- to remove these signs of factionalism, and we will remove them. [applause] Resting on the reliable and firm foundation which was achieved by the material and work of our national conference, I once again repeat this point: Our party will say goodbye to this kind of action forever; party unity will be strengthened more than before; and, as Comrade Babrak Karmal always says, repeating the words of the great Lenin: the unity of the party must be safeguarded like the apple of one's eye. [applause] In fully confirming the contents of the draft action plan and Comrade Babrak Karmal's report in this regard, I ask all party members to devote all their energies and work in all their practical activity to consolidating the organic unity of the party ranks which is of vital importance for us.

Esteemed comrades, respected delegates, the creation of the National Fatherland Front [NFF] was a victory for the party and all national patriotic forces. This front reflects the historic hopes of the patriots of our homeland in achieving unity among the people and the progress and well-being of beloved Afghanistan. Now NFF organizations have been formed in most of the country's provinces and in some districts and cities. They are playing a major role in resolving important questions related to the homeland and the people and most of all to stabilizing peace throughout the country, to uniting all patriots around the PDPA and people's power and to coordinating the solution of questions related to the broad masses of the people. It is completely clear to all of us that these are the first steps and the beginning of the work for which the front was formed. A much greater work is before us to be done in the future. The NFF as a whole and all social organizations which are included in its structure ought to revive their activities under the leadership of the PDPA and concentrate on implementing the demands of the PDPA action plan which concerns not only the party but all the people of Afghanistan. In this connection I believe the broad plenum of the NFF National Committee must be convened in the near future for all those demands that should be implemented by this broad unity of the national patriotic forces of Afghanistan.

Esteemed comrade delegates, the party pays great attention to ideological activity. This attention is revealed in education, science and culture. In this regard the PDPA Central Committee have approved important and specific resolutions. These basic decisions constitute the activities of the committees and party organizations in extending and propagating political learning for full and candidate party members and for increasing the effectiveness of all publicity among the masses.

We do not want to speak about all that has been achieved to date; this would take too long. But what is important is that ideological work should be raised to a new level; the broad masses of the people should be told the truth about the statements and demands of the PDPA and in their own language. Based on this all their energy and force should be concentrated on and coordinated for the realization of national democratic changes. The conference material is a source of inspiration not only for the party but also for all the people, in particular workers and peasants. It is because of this that the party publicity, propaganda and education department should organize and originate political mass work among the various strata of people and most of all among those who are semiliterate or illiterate. The exciting party speeches should resound throughout the country, even its least accessible parts. Use must be made of the publicity and propaganda groups, fixed days for political reporting, collective work and reciprocal friendship and cooperation and voluntary works for this purpose. Effective use must be made of this in party work.

The party has provided broad revolutionary ground for such publicity and propagation comparisons [mo qaesyl]. Only you, respected delegates, should be the guardians of the lofty spirit and the noble thinking which our national conference enjoys today, and today indeed all of us can be proud that we have a party which has showed such a high standard at this conference compared with others abroad. [applause]

You esteemed delegates should take with you all the facts about the aims and tasks of the revolutionary party and government to the villages, valleys and farms; to every farmer, every patriot and every inhabitant of the country wherever he may be. In this regard you must concentrate, first of all, on training the people in the internationalist spirit, informing the people as to who is our friend and who is our enemy and that the great USSR is our great and historic friend. [applause]

Our people must know that the Soviet Union is our true and reliable friend, they must know, realize and feel that friendship with the great Soviet Union is the guarantee of the prosperity and blossoming of beloved Afghanistan. [applause] And this fact, that is, Afghan-Soviet friendship, is the guarantee of our freedom and independence. The party committees should prepare and concentrate all party activities for this important matter. The party statement should resound always and everywhere and should be specifically used to build a new and better life.

In confirming the contents of Comrade Babrak Karmal's report concerning the fact that we should concentrate all our efforts on the political maturity of party members, and especially young people, I again completely support this scientific statement. This is necessary because nearly half of our party is composed of young people. The political maturity of the party members leads people to a progressive society and is directly related to equipping them with progressive revolutionary theory, that compass which shows the only correct path for progress in difficult conditions. Such a theory should be understood by our party members because they are dutybound to describe the correctness of the chosen path and, as Comrade Babrak Karmal always says: We are not turning back from the path we have chosen; they should take it to all the people [applause] and they should intensify the practical initiatives in the sociopolitical spheres of all the strata and inhabitants of the country for the construction of a prosperous society.

Nur Ahmad Nur Address

LD262332 Kabul Domestic Service in Dari 1730 GMT 23 Mar 82

[Speech by Nur Ahmad Nur, member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the PDPA Central Committee, at the PDPA national conference in Kabul -- date not given; recorded]

[Excerpts] Comrades, the PDPA national conference and consideration and approval of its action plan occupies a special position in the PDPA's revolutionary activities and will be entered in history as a great event in the evolution of the party, our society and government.

About 2 years have lapsed since the approval of the present chapter in the second PDPA Central Committee plenum. During this short time the party's activities have been based on this charter. They have provided the possibilities for attaining specific victories in strengthening the organization, further progress and evolution of internal party democracy and expansion and extension of the PDPA's relations with the toiling masses. During these years thousands of probationary and permanent members have joined the ranks of the party and its total number has increased by 1 and 1/2 times and now stands at 63,000. [applause]

Now the party has an orderly organizational structure in Kabul and in the local regions.

The regional party organizations are being formed in the provinces, major districts, cities, districts and subdistricts. Political affairs departments and political offices are being formed in the units of the armed forces, sarandoy and Khad. The network of primary party organizations in institutions, departments and organizations is rapidly increasing.

The total number of primary party organizations during this period has increased to 1,400. During this period we have succeeded in achieving many things and have learned many things. But life and the situation in the country demand more from us. As a matter of fact, the PDPA after grasping power has accepted formidable historic and political responsibilities. The party as a whole and each member of the party individually must harmonize their high mission with their responsibilities. This means that further unity is needed for us in all fields: in opinion, point of views, statements and action, and in internal party relations toward all practical activities. Similarly, order and high organization are an inevitable task for us.

So far the party is teaching this point to government organs and mass social organizations. Therefore, without a high level of order the leading party cannot exist. But not all have profoundly perceived this point and relentlessly follow it.

It must be regarded as law for every member of the party to strengthen party unity, consolidate its relations with the masses and on this basis enhance the evolution and [word indistinct] of the revolution.

Party members must not be (?lazy), inactive, weak or slow. Hence the charter must reflect the need for the general progress of work, the activities of the party members and the accomplishment of party duties. The responsibilities of the probationary and permanent members of the party must be increased.

This required the seventh PDPA Central Committee plenum to pass a resolution on entering a topic in the conference agenda under the title of amendment and perfection of the charter provisions.

First of all, about the definition of the PDPA: Instead of the brief definition of the party there is a need to further elaborate on the PDPA, its objectives and duties under the present circumstances in Afghanistan. In connection with this point it is useful to amend the first paragraph of the charter preamble. It is proposed that instead, a broader definition of the party be included as the party of new [word indistinct], the highest form of political organization and the leading and directing force of our society which is based on the voluntary unity of the pioneer delegates and members from the workers, peasants, personnel of the armed forces, intellectuals, guilds, traders, nomads and other toilers and patriots of our beloved homeland.

It must be pointed out that the objective of the party is to construct a society devoid of exploitation of man by man, which secures a constant high-level economic and spiritual life of the people based on the rapid growth of the country's productive sources.

In particular the preamble must point out that the infallible legality of the life of the PDPA is that of ideological and organizational unity, militancy, cohesion of the ranks and the conscientious observance of order; any kind of factionalism and tribal manifestation is inconsistent with prestige and remaining in the party. [applause]

At the end of this part it must be added that the PDPA is operating not as a separate but as a united entity, with the international labor and progressive movements -- our party is a component part of these movements. Therefore, the preamble of the charter presents the full and extended definition of the PDPA and displays the duties, objectives and fundamental directions of its activities in the present stage of the revolution.

The majority of the proposals are concerned with the (?constitution) of the party structure -- such as enhancing the social makeup of the party and the expansion of its social activities base.

The international revolutionary movement's experience shows that the righteousness and success of party's policy, its ideological and structural unity, the strengthening of its relations with the masses and its capability for militancy are to a large extent dependent on the composition of party -- the members' conscientiousness and the organization.

For the PDPA, which is the vanguard of the working class and all the toilers, the enhancement of the party's social composition has always been and will remain an outstanding issue of progress and evolution and its further strengthening.

During the past years the party has accomplished many tasks to enhance its ranks for the best delegates of the people, and first of all, the workers and peasants. Their share among the probationary members of the party accepted this year is 38 percent, that is, many times more than in past year. Still, in the composition of the party, the peasants and workers are not sufficient. Hence, the admission requirements for probationary and permanent members of the party for the workers, peasants and also for the troops of the army, sarandoy and Khad -- who prior to their admission to sacred military service were workers or peasants -- must be altered. The nature of the proposals are that for these categories the probationary period, the number of recommenders and the background of the recommenders' membership must be reduced in comparison with that of other social groups.

The number of the recommenders must be reduced to two. Party members who possess 2 years membership, not 3 years, must be given the power to recommend workers, peasants and soldiers who prior to joining the sacred military service were peasants or workers. A 6-months term of probationary membership must be accepted for this category. [applause]

The practical implementation of these proposals will provide many times better condition for the rapid absorption of workers and peasants into the party. This will undoubtedly result in a positive effect on the social composition of the party, diminish the possibility of its (?destruction) and strengthen its relation with masses. Girls and boys up to the age of 20 must be accepted in the party through the Democratic Youth Organization [DYOA].

The PDPA evaluates and will evaluate the DYOA as a militant reserve force and confident assistant of the party.

Boys and girls are acquiring political maturity and organizational and social work experience in the DYOA; this strengthens the feeling of responsibility and discipline.

In the DYOA they go through a training school and foster political militancy for the revolution. They actively participate in all fields of revolutionary transformations and fight in the front ranks against counterrevolutionaries and for strengthening the national authority; they take part in the development productive forces, the realization of measures to eradicate illiteracy; and they strengthen and perfect their political awareness with the theory of revolutionary [word indistinct], patriotism and internationalism.

Hence, the acceptance of youth in the party up to the age of 20 through the DYOA [word indistinct] is considered to enhance the qualitative composition of the PDPA. [applause]

The other groups of amendments are concerned with the problems of internal perfection of party life, the party organizational structure, increasing the role of PDPA members and strengthening party discipline.

As experience shows, some party members have not carefully perceived the nature of democratic centralization and have committed such actions which are contrary to the norms of party life.

In particular, during preparations for the party national conference, in some party sessions efforts were made to impose individual views as against the collective point of view; and they showed doubt and suspicion toward the correctness of superior party organs' decisions and did not obey these decisions. Obviously, here the purpose is connected not only with lack of perception but with the fact that a small number of these comrades have not seriously regarded obedience of party discipline; for them, only their own viewpoint has importance, and in fact through use of the party's internal democracy and use of private thoughts [word indistinct] they even become enemies of the party.

Such thoughts and actions are regarded as a lack of belief in ideology and will inevitably serve moves toward factionalism and harm party unity. Of course, free expression of opinion exists within our party. However, the party's most vital requirement is freedom of discussion and of exchange of views coupled with iron discipline and joint efforts to implement the decisions that are made. Violation of this tenet is not permitted, and nobody has the right to reject it. [applause]

Democratic centralization is not possible without the obedience of inferior organs to superior party organs. If this golden principle is ignored, the activities of the party organization will be deprived of a single, centralized leadership and common objective. Therefore, the central committee deems it necessary that the principle of unqualified obedience by inferior authorities to the decisions of superior ones be included in the charter.

The PDPA Central Committee regards as very important the (?point) concerning the increase of the members' duties. Now that our party has been transformed into a party in power, it views creative activities, the laying of economic foundation of the new society, the improvement and perfection of production forces and the increase in the tranquillity of the people of Afghanistan as very serious issues. Both probationary and permanent members of the party must actively participate in the solution of these issues. Hence it is proposed that among the other duties of the party members should be mentioned the need to fulfill production duties honestly and completely and to participate actively in improving and increasing social production.

Furthermore, it is good that the duties of the party members are delineated in a more rational manner.

Comrades: One of the basic and most significant duties of the party organization and its local organs is the appointment of leadership cadres and their training in the spirit of faithfulness to the objectives of the April Revolution, patriotism and responsibility toward the people and party for the duty being assigned. In our opinion, all the essential requirements for party membership are reflected in the present charter. These include the minimum age for joining the party, active participation in one of the party organizations, the implementation of party decisions and resolutions, the paying of membership dues and the acceptance of the party's policies and charter. What is of particular importance is the indispensable active participation in the practical implementation of these requirements. This means that he who joins the PDPA is dutybound to struggle for the people's freedom and interests and with courage and bravery defend our beloved homeland. He must be uncompromising with the enemies of the revolution, the party and the toiling people.

The party charter demonstrates that the PDPA permits only those people to join its ranks who are conscientious, honest and faithful to the objectives of the April Revolution and the party.

The text of the new charter that is before us is very important for the strengthening, improvement and further evolution of our young party. We must [words indistinct] raise the PDPA leadership and its guiding role in society. We must strengthen and consolidate party unity in such a manner that it can lead the brave and courageous people of our beloved Afghanistan to those objectives (?embodied in the action program) [words indistinct].

GENERAL ERSHAD NAMES FIVE MORE ADVISERS

BK300220 Dacca Domestic Service in English 0145 GMT 30 Mar 82

[Text] The chief martial law administrator has appointed five more members to his Council of Advisers and allocated their portfolios. The advisers and their portfolios are:

Maj Gen Abdul Mannan Siddique, Ministry of Public Works and Urban Development.

Mr A.M.A. Mohid, Ministry of Finance and Planning.

Air Vice Marshal, Retired, Aminul Islam, Ministry of Labor and Manpower.

Mr. A.M.A. Mohid, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting.

Mr Mahbubur Rahman, Ministry of Local Government, Rural Development.

PRESIDENT CHOWDHURY ADDRESSES NATION 29 MAR

BK291758 Dacca Domestic Service in Bengali 1700 GMT 29 Mar 82

[Text] President Justice Abdul Fazal Mohammad Ahsanuddin Chowdhury has called upon the people to face the present crisis with courage and tolerance imbued with the spirit of national unity and Bangladeshi nationalism. Addressing the nation over radio and television tonight, the president said he is fully convinced that the people of the country will not hesitate to make any sacrifice to consolidate their hard-earned independence and the sovereignty of the country, to establish a real democracy and to ensure the economic emancipation of the people.

The president urged the people to have respect for the law. He said disrespect for the law leads to anarchy and chaos. He firmly believes that the majority of the people of the country have (?faith in religion) and are completely law-abiding.

Justice Ahsanuddin Chowdhury urged the people to cooperate fully with the government in its efforts to fulfill its promise of setting up a welfare state free of corruption with an efficient administration. Giving importance to the need for hard work, he said it is a prerequisite for achieving any great objective. If all of us can perform our respective duties with honesty, dedication and sincerity, God willing, we will attain success.

The president said the country's economy is to be made self-sufficient with full utilization of national resources. To achieve this, he asked to people to observe self-discipline, austerity and frugality. He also emphasized that if one is honest, dedicated and sincere, there is nothing to fear from martial law, but martial law will deal heavy blows to corrupt and dishonest persons.

The president hoped that with our united efforts we will be able to establish that happy and prosperous Bangladesh of our dreams and for which the common masses have made great sacrifices. He called upon the people to march ahead with a new pledge imbued with the great ideals of the liberation war for a prosperous future.

NATIONALIST PARTY OFFICIAL QURESHI DETAINED

BK280923 Delhi Domestic Service in English 0830 GMT 28 Mar 82

[Excerpts] In Bangladesh, about 240 people including 6 former ministers have been arrested on charges of corruption and antinational activities.

Joint Secretary General of the ousted Bangladesh Nationalist Party Ferdous Qureshi has reportedly been detained for a month in the Dacca central jail.

Meanwhile, Chief Martial Law Administrator of Bangladesh Lieutenant General Ershad had said stern action will be taken against corrupt and dishonest officials. He asked officials to observe austerity and reduce government expenses.

GANDHI: DEFENSE SPENDING LESS THAN OTHER ASIANS

BK270843 Delhi Domestic Service in English 0240 GMT 27 Mar 82

[Excerpt] The prime minister has said India is spending much less on defense than any other Asian country. Addressing a meeting of India League in London yesterday, Mrs Gandhi pointed out that India's per capita defense expenditure is only \$7. She said one of our neighboring countries' per capita defense expenditure is \$17. She said the first duty of the country is to safeguard its independence and one cannot ignore the fact that India has had to face invasions as many as 5 times during the last 35 years.

All India Radio special correspondent Arun Roy reports that Mrs Gandhi answered a wide range of questions on India at the end of the meeting. The meeting was attended by many prominent (?persons), including the leader of the opposition in the British Parliament, Michael Foot.

The prime minister said India is making progress in every direction and trying to strengthen itself to face threats, both old and new.

Replying to a question, Mrs Gandhi said it was wrong to say that the law and order situation in the country had weakened. The country remains united and strong. On occasional communal disturbances, she said it was limited to certain pockets alone.

The country's industrial base has become strong and the government is trying to liberalize the licensing system. However, it will not allow monopoly to grow. India has opened up certain areas for foreign investment, she said.

On the North-South dialogue, Mrs Gandhi said it should be carried out in all seriousness. She said there is need for greater cooperation among developing nations so that their voice is heard.

About race relations in Britain, Mrs Gandhi said she did not discuss the matter with Mrs Thatcher. But the British Government has assured her that it will not discriminate against any community.

EMBASSY PROTESTS PAKISTAN CRITICISM OF ENVOY

BK291617 Delhi Domestic Service in English 1530 GMT 29 Mar 82

[Text] According to PTI, the India Embassy in Islamabad today protested with the Pakistan Foreign Office over a statement criticizing outgoing India Ambassador Natwar Singh. In a note the embassy said the Foreign Affairs Ministry of Pakistan had given credence to an item published by a Pakistani newspaper in which the ambassador's statement had been used out of context.

Ambassador Natwar Singh had commented on acquisition of arms by Pakistan and reiterated India's opposition to the raising of the Kashmir issue in the international forums. He had also said that modalities for the setting up [of] an Indo-Pakistan joint commission would be worked out at an early date.

SECURITY TIGHTENED AROUND U.S. MISSIONS

BK300315 Delhi Domestic Service in English 0240 GMT 30 Mar 82

[Text] Thirty-four persons have been arrested so far in connection with the attack on the U.S. consulate general's office in Bombay last week. Making a further statement in the Rajya Sabha yesterday, Minister of State for Home N.R. Laskar said the leader of miscreants has admitted that he only wanted publicity for his organization. Further investigation is on.

Laskar said the Maharashtra Government has assured the consulate general of all protection. Tamil Nadu, West Bengal and Delhi administration have been asked to tighten the security arrangements around the American consulates and the embassy.

HINDU ON 'STALEMATE' IN RELATIONS WITH U.S.

BK261631 Madras THE HINDU in English 13 Mar 82 p 1

[By G.K. Reddy]

[Text] New Delhi, March 12 -- The current stalemate in Indo-American relations is expected to continue for some more time with neither side saying or doing anything that could improve or impede the prospects for better understanding in at least some non-controversial spheres in which there is no clash of purpose or conflict of interests between them.

But the two governments have been assuring each other privately through various channels that they are equally keen on establishing a reasonably good working relationship even if it is going to be a limited one for the present.

As a striking example of this desire to avoid a further set-back, the two sides have been exercising considerable restraint in not carrying their persisting differences over the nuclear issue to the logical conclusion of terminating the Tarapur agreement.

Though there is little hope of a compromise, both India and the U.S. seem to be in no great hurry to put a formal seal of finality on the break through a precipitous termination.

The other issues that continue to sour Indo-American relations now are Afghanistan, the U.S. arms supplies to Pakistan, India's Soviet connection, North-South dialogue, the U.S. threat of curtailment of IDA replenishments and attempts to interfere with IMF allocations and World Bank loans.

The bilateral irritants include trade and tariff barriers, irksome restrictions on quotas and allegations of discrimination in the issue of visas and administration of immigration regulations.

The recent controversy over the alleged U.S. sympathy for the Khalistan Movement despite the disclaimers in Washington is only a reflection of the prevailing distrust and waning faith in each other's intentions.

If the Reagan administration feels that India is still condoning Soviet provocations through its equivocal attitudes, the Government of India remains apprehensive that the U.S. will not let go an opportunity to destabilise this country through covert intervention.

The strained relationship between the two countries is further worsened at times by the gratuitous observations and snide remarks about each other's policies and actions, when a little more reticence could help to soothe the ruffled feelings on either side. But as free societies with their penchant for articulation, they are also able to get their resentments off the chest by simply giving vent to them.

So there are no deep scars left behind by lasting animosities in Indo-American relations other than recurring intolerances. The peculiar blend of love-hate relationship allows the two sides to shed their ambivalent attitudes when they want to do so in pursuit of better understanding and accommodation.

It is against this background that the prime minister, Mrs Indira Gandhi, the foreign minister, Mr P.V. Narasimha Rao, and senior officials of the External Affairs Ministry readily agreed to talk on Indo-American relations to the U.S. ambassadors in South-Asian countries who had come to Delhi to attend a regional conference convened by the State Department.

It was a useful exercise in the sense that, despite their continued reservations about some of India's policies, these diplomats went back fairly convinced that there was no basis for the assumption that this country was anti-American or pro-Russian as generally imagined in Washington.

A line of private communication is also being kept up at the highest level between Delhi and Washington through some well-meaning intermediaries interested in better Indo-American relations. The intention is not to agree over every issue, but at least agree to disagree where no agreement is possible in the present circumstances.

At one stage there was some expectation that General Alexander Haig's visit to Delhi would help to clear some of the misunderstandings or at least narrow down the differences. An attempt is being made to reschedule this postponed visit so that the ground could be prepared for a meeting between Mrs Gandhi and President Reagan later.

After his brief tete-a-tete with her in Cancun, President Reagan is reported to have told his advisers that he found Mrs Gandhi extremely pleasant and quite flexible in her views on global problems. She was not the kind of "ogre" he was led to believe by some of his advisers in Washington.

CONGRESS-I DOMINATES RAJYA SABHA ELECTIONS

BK291631 Delhi Domestic Service in English 1530 GMT 29 Mar 82

[Excerpts] The Congress-I has bagged 36 out of 45 seats in the Rajya Sabha biennial elections from nine states for which polling took place today. The Lok Dal has won three seats, the Bharatiya Janata Party two and the Congress-S, the Janata Party, the Communist Party of India and the Akali Dal -- Longowal group -- one each. The Congress-I has made a clean sweep in Rajasthan, Haryana and Himachal Pradesh winning all the seats.

With this, the biennial elections for the 63 seats in 14 states were over today. The elections could not take place in Kerala and Assam because the state assemblies in both the states have been dissolved. As already reported, the Congress-I has secured four seats in Karnataka, three each in Orissa and Gujarat. Out of 63 seats, the party has secured 47; one independent candidate supported by the party has also been elected from Gujarat. In West Bengal, the ruling left front has bagged all 5 seats and in Jammu and Kashmir, one candidate of the national conference and one independent supported by the opposition have won.

PRESIDENT'S RULE IMPOSED IN ASSAM 19 MAR

BK191118 Delhi Domestic Service in English 0730 GMT 19 Mar 82

[Text] President's rule has been imposed in Assam. The requisite notification was signed by President Sanjiva Reddy this morning. The Cabinet, which met in New Delhi yesterday, had recommended imposition of president's rule in the state and dissolution of the assembly following resignation of the Gogoi ministry. The Cabinet took the decision after considering the report from Governor Prakash Mehrotra.

MANIPUR UNDERGROUND GROUPS DECLARED UNLAWFUL

BK261029 Delhi Domestic Service in English 0830 GMT 26 Mar 82

[Text] The one-man tribunal headed by Justice Saithya of the Gauhati High Court has upheld the notification issued by the union government last year declaring the People's Liberation Army in Manipur and its armed wing as unlawful. Organizations like the Red Army and the offshoots of the People's Revolutionary Party of (Kamlipark) and its armed wing, which are known as Meithi extremist organizations, have also been declared unlawful by the tribunal.

FOREIGN OFFICE REGRETS INDIAN ENVOY'S REMARKS

BK281639 Karachi Domestic Service in Urdu 1500 GMT 28 Mar 82

[Text] A Foreign Office spokesman in Islamabad has expressed regret over the statement by the outgoing Indian ambassador, allegedly given to an Islamabad newspaper, in which he took exception to the basis for the establishment of Pakistan as a state. The spokesman said it is regrettable that an ambassador, who rendered services in Pakistan for his country and who now will be responsible for Indo-Pakistani relations in New Delhi, has demonstrated insensitivity toward the feelings of people of Pakistan in such a manner.

The spokesman also said Pakistan will determine the size of its forces and will make every decision it deems necessary in its national interest. He added that it does not need anyone's advice. The spokesman said India is rapidly increasing its military might. However, despite this fact, Pakistan has never said what the number and nature of Indian forces should be.

Referring to the Indian ambassador's remarks about the Kashmir issue, the spokesman said Pakistan's stand is fully evident and does not require further explanation. The Kashmir dispute still exists. It still needs to be resolved and is not a settled issue. The spokesman reiterated that Pakistan is sticking to its policy to establish friendly and stable relations with India on the basis of mutual respect for the sovereignty of the two countries. The spokesman said he hopes India will respect Pakistan's feelings in respect to normalizing relations and ending tensions.

HAQ, PRC'S JI PENGFEI ADDRESS 24 MAR BANQUET

GF281118 Karachi DAWN in English 25 Mar 82 p 1

[Text] Islamabad, March 24 -- President Mohammad Ziaul Haq has expressed the hope that India would cooperate with Pakistan in promoting peace and stability in the region. He was speaking at a banquet held in honor of the visiting four-member Chinese delegation, headed by Vice-Premier Ji Pengfei at the Aiwan-i-Sadr here tonight.

The president said Pakistan believed in the principle of peaceful coexistence and, therefore, wanted to promote friendship and peace with neighbors. He said Pakistan wanted that her resources as well as the resources of her neighbors are utilized for the betterment of their people instead of being spent on defence preparedness. President Zia said that foreign military intervention in Afghanistan had directly affected Pakistan. It had also changed the situation in the region. He said more than 26 lakh Afghan refugees had been compelled to take shelter in Pakistan and the flow continued.

The president said that with the help of China and other friendly countries Pakistan was providing humanitarian assistance to Afghan refugees and would continue to do so. President Zia said Pakistan stood for a political solution of the Afghan crisis and honourable return of the Afghan refugees to their homes. Pakistan he said, was working to this effect in accordance with the resolutions of the United Nations Security Council and the General Assembly.

He hoped that the UN secretary-general's representative's visit next month would help find a political solution. He said Pakistan strictly believed that there should not be any interference in the affairs of others.

He said violations of the nonintervention principle in Afghanistan and Kampuchea had endangered the security of these regions.

Pakistan, he said condemned foreign military intervention in these two countries and had protested against this in international organisations and would continue to do so till it was stopped and the golden principle of non-intervention upheld.

Speaking at the banquet Chinese Vice-Premier Mr Ji Pengfei said China would always firmly support Pakistan to safeguard its national independence and state sovereignty. The vice-premier said that China would always support Pakistan no matter how unpredictable the international situation may be. He said: "The Chinese Government and people will, as always, firmly stand on the Pakistani side and support the Pakistani Government and people in their just struggle to safeguard their national independence and state sovereignty and oppose foreign aggression and interference". Mr Ji said Pakistan and China were now united more closely to oppose aggression, defend world peace and safeguard their independence and sovereignty.

PRC Delegation Departs

BK261540 Karachi Domestic Service in Urdu 1500 GMT 26 Mar 82

[Text] The Chinese good-will delegation led by PRC Vice Premier Ji Pengfei was accorded a warm sendoff when it left Karachi for Beijing this morning at the end of a 5-day visit to Pakistan. Ji Pengfei told newsmen at the airport that he had purposeful talks with President Gen Mohammad Ziaul Haq on the international situation, bilateral relations and matters of mutual interest. He noted that their views on major international issues are identical. He added that his present visit has further strengthened mutual understanding and trust and the friendly relations and cooperation between Pakistan and China have been further strengthened and stabilized.

The Chinese leader said that his participation in the Pakistan Day celebrations and his visit to various cities have provided him with a firsthand idea of the great success of Pakistani people in protecting national sovereignty, independence and regional security and in its national reconstruction. He thanked the government and the people of Pakistan for the warm hospitality and welcome accorded to his delegation during this stay in Pakistan.

HAQ CONGRATULATES NEW BANGLADESH PRESIDENT

BK290225 Karachi Domestic Service in Urdu 0200 GMT 29 Mar 82

[Text] President Mohammad Ziaul Haq has heartily congratulated Mr Justice Abul Fazal Mohammad Ahsanuddin Chowdhury on his assumption of the office of president of Bangladesh. President Haq said in his message that the close ties of friendship and cooperation between the fraternal people of the two countries will in the future be further consolidated and that this will benefit the people of both countries. In his message, the president wished progress and prosperity for the fraternal people of Bangladesh.

DAWN CRITICAL OF MILITARY COUP IN BANGLADESH

GF281133 Karachi DAWN in English 27 Mar 82 p 9

[Editorial: "Coup in Bangladesh"]

[Text] The coup in Bangladesh does not come as a surprise. Ever since last November when Bangladesh went to the polls the armed forces leaders have been waiting in the wings.

Their clamour for a role in political decision-making neither aroused public sympathy nor evoked the support of the main political elements. The utmost limit to which the now deposed president was willing to go in accommodating the army leaders' demands for power-sharing was to constitute a National Security Council on which the leaders of the armed forces were represented. The army chief, Lt General Ershad, peremptorily rejected the composition of the National Security Council. There was ample evidence to suggest that the elected government was under mounting pressure from the armed forces. The failure of the political parties to unite in upholding democratic rulership and constitutionality, doubtless, encouraged the military leaders in their political ambitions.

If the take-over by the army on Wednesday could have been anticipated, it does not mean, however, that objective conditions in Bangladesh in any way pointed to the need for suspending the political process. The charge that the ruling Bangladesh Nationalist Party was faction-ridden was perhaps correct, but the party was not exactly on the point of going to pieces. In any case, the army's own record has been no better where internal dissension is concerned. A count of the successful and abortive coups staged, with the armed forces arrayed on either side in most cases, amply bears this out. The fact of the matter is that the political process had so far succeeded in absorbing inter-party and intra-party differences. The constitutional system had been working satisfactorily enough for a country as heavily burdened with political, economic and social problems as Bangladesh.

Nor did the country appear to be sliding into lawlessness which could warrant the imposition of martial law. The constitutional system evolved by President Ziaur Rahman, though not perfect, had enabled Bangladesh in 1978 to effect a trouble-free transition from military rule to a political government. It had also provided a reasonable degree of stability and political orientation to the country and this was most apparent after the death of Ziaur Rahman when a changeover took place within the constitutional framework.

As for the economic difficulties the country faces and the prevalence of corruption, these problems are best tackled under the discipline of a political system and with the help of institutions which bear the stamp of legitimacy and which are fully accountable. Strong-arm short-term methods may at best offer palliatives but they cannot produce durable results. In fact, an authoritarian approach proves wholly counter-productive in the long run. It bypasses normal processes, erodes the sense of responsibility at various levels, paralyses the ordinary mechanisms of self-correction that work within every corporate body and creates over-dependence on desperate remedies. In all likelihood the army leaders will prove no better than democratically elected politicians where it comes to managing the economy and combating corruption.

President Ziaur Rahman had also come into power through a military coup in 1975. But it was soon apparent to him that a country as politicised and volatile as Bangladesh cannot be governed indefinitely by a military government. He was obliged to recognise the importance of political legitimacy and popular consent for the government. Within three years he had restored the political process, revamped the constitutional scheme to provide for greater powers for the parliament and obtained a popular sanction for his presidency through a presidential election. General Ershad will also inevitably come to realise sooner or later that Bangladesh cannot be governed for long by a military-cum-civil bureaucracy. Bangladesh will once again find itself in quest of a political system, but back as it is to square one, the process might this time prove to be more tortuous.

MILITARY COMMUNIQUEs ISSUED ON FIGHTING

Readiness for Offensive

LD291744 Tehran Domestic Service in Persian 1630 GMT 29 Mar 82

[Statement of the Joint Operational Center of the Islamic Republic of Iran's Armed Forces and the Islamic Revolution Guards Corps in the Karbala Headquarters issued on 29 March]

[Excerpts] Hero combatants of Islam: Now that the vast part of our Islamic territory has been liberated following the victorious great Fath operations and as a result of your relentless battles against America's aggression, the following points should be observed by all units of the Army of the Islamic Republic of Iran and the Islamic Revolution Guards Corps:

1. All units of the Army of the Islamic Republic of Iran and the Islamic Revolution Guards should continue to maintain combat readiness for the continuation of the Fath operations and future phases.
2. All units of the Army of the Islamic Republic of Iran and the Islamic Revolution Guards Corps stationed on southern and western fronts should be prepared and ready to be subordinate to the Joint Operational Center of the Islamic Republic of Iran's Armed Forces and the Islamic Revolution Guards Corps in the Karbala Headquarters from 0000 on 30 March 1982. These units should be ready following and in accordance with the directive at 0300 and in accordance with the strategies in coordination with the rest of the Islamic Republic of Iran's Armed Forces and the people's forces to crush the last trenches of the aggressor enemy and to liberate the lands, villages and cities of the Islamic homeland and to secure the borders.
3. They should welcome with open hearts those deceived people who have realized the true meanings, aims and treasons of the mercenary regime of Saddam and who want to surrender to the army of Islam. All combatants should treat the POW's as before and in accordance with Islamic directives and human morality, thus making the POW's realize that they are under the protection of Islam.
4. All spoils of war gained in advances and victories should be protected with extreme care so that they may be used for the continuation of the struggle against international imperialism and Zionism.
5. Rely on God Almighty and believe that the final victory will be by Islam's forces, which is the definite divine promise.

[Signed] Joint Operational Center of the Islamic Republic of Iran's Armed Forces and the Islamic Revolution Guards Corps in the Karbala Headquarters

Capture of Missiles, Officers

LD291928 Tehran Domestic Service in Persian 1630 GMT 29 Mar 82

[Statement by the Joint Staff of the Armed Forces of the Islamic Republic of Iran and the Central Headquarters of the Islamic Revolution Guards Corps -- issued "a few minutes ago" -- not numbered]

[Text] In the name of God, the compassionate, the merciful. We have granted you a clear victory. [Koranic verse]

Heroic and Muslim Iranian nation. We hereby inform you of the results of today's Fath ol-Mobin operations. Our wakeful fighters, with their brave operations, advanced toward and captured the criminal enemy missile sites, capturing intact a number of SAM-6's and a number of surface-to-surface missiles.

Following yesterday's victories, the forces of Islam, after mopping up positions earlier occupied by enemy forces, mopped up Pineh Heights -- which has one of the greatest oil reserves in the north of Khuzestan -- from the filth of the existence of enemy forces and brought it under their complete control and occupation. Our forces consolidated their position in this region. Our heroic forces also brought the (Abu-Gharib) oil wells under their complete control and domination.

The advances of our wakeful forces continue in these regions. During Fath ol-Mobin operations on the 'Eyn Khosh axis, Col Yusof Mohammad 'Ali, the commander of Jeysh ash-Sha'bi, who was in charge of 'Eyn Khosh region, and Col Mohammad Ayad Saleh, commander of the 2d Battalion of the 60th Brigade, and three other Iraqi officers were captured by the brave forces of Islam.

The number of Iraqi POW's of the Fath operations who have been evacuated to behind the lines has now reached 14,795. In these operations, a considerable amount of armored equipment and weaponry of the aggressive Iraqi forces was captured by our forces.

The heroic and committed nation will receive a full report on the victories of the brave fighters of Islam in the Fath operations in latter communiques.

[Signed] The Joint Staff of the Armed Forces of the Islamic Republic of Iran and the Central Headquarters of the Islamic Revolution Guards Corps

Downing of Aircraft

LD291114 Tehran Domestic Service in Persian 1030 GMT 29 Mar 82

[Communique No 838 of the Joint Staff of the Armed Forces of the Islamic Republic of Iran]

[Text] In His exalted name. Once again divine blessing has been granted to the personnel of the Islamic Republic's Air Force. The selfless airmen and air defense combatants have dealt yet another deadly blow to the weakened enemy. Your heroic brothers shot down three enemy planes this morning in the western sector of the Dezful front. They have thus maintained their superiority and dashed the last hopes of the enemies of Islam. By securing control of the air they are paving the way for the advance of our Islamic combatants in the operational areas. May God give us success.

[Signed] The Joint Staff of the Armed Forces of the Islamic Republic of Iran

Ground, Air Battles

LD291740 Tehran Domestic Service in Persian 1630 GMT 29 Mar 82

[Communique No 839 of the Joint Staff of the Armed Forces of the Islamic Republic of Iran -- issued 29 March]

[Text] In His exalted name. The fighting forces of the Islamic Republic of Iran, while maintaining their fighting superiority, are continuing their operations on all fronts until the final surrender of the aggressive forces of Saddam to the law of God. The epic-making forces of the Fath ol-Mobin operations, by taking up positions in the liberated regions and consolidating their newly-won positions in the liberated regions, are continuing their mission with strength, power and vigilance.

The pilots and fighters of the air force and the airborne division of the Islamic Republic of Iran are exerting considerable efforts in supporting the operations of the infantry units. The brave air force pilots this morning succeeded in downing three more Iraqi aircraft to the west of Dezful. Twenty-one enemy aircraft have been downed since the beginning of the Fath operations. With the evacuation of 5,522 more Iraqi POW's to Tehran, the total number of Iraqi prisoners taken to Tehran is now 12,015.

At 0355 this morning, the fighters of the ground forces and the self-sacrificing forces of the Islamic Revolution Guards Corps, with the cooperation of other fighting forces and effective artillery fire support attacked enemy units to the north of (Karkhehnur) and (Seyyed Jaber). The aggressive Iraqi forces fled in the first few minutes of the attack. Full details of these operations will be brought to the notice of the Muslim nation in later communiques.

Our powerful forces, by opening fire on enemy positions in (Haligarmaleh), (Panjveyn), (Khormal) and (Diyareh), succeeded in destroying a number of supply posts of the forces of Saddam, setting fire to four of their vehicles, and killing or wounding a number of Iraqi military personnel.

In the Meymak and Salehabad region, our artillery fire on the enemy supply routes halted their activities. In Sar-e Pol-e Zahab, the fighters of Islam opened fire on enemy positions, destroying three guns and one vehicle of the aggressive forces and killing a number of the forces of Saddam. In Gilan-e Gharb, the fire of our forces destroyed one ammunition dump and six supply posts and damaged a number of tanks.

[Signed] The Joint Staff of the Armed Forces of the Islamic Republic of Iran

ZAHIRNEZHAD CABLES KHOMEYNI ON 28 MARCH VICTORY

LD291836 Tehran Domestic Service in Persian 1630 GMT 29 Mar 82

[Text] According to a Central News Unit report, following the great victories of the forces of Islam at the battlefronts against the Iraqi aggressive forces, Brigadier General Zahirnezhad, chief of the Joint Staff of the Armed Forces of the Islamic Republic of Iran, sent the following message to Imam Khomeyni, the leader of the revolution and the commander in chief of the Armed Forces of the Islamic Republic of Iran:

In the name of God, the compassionate, the merciful. To the blessed presence of his great eminence Ayatollah Imam Khomeyni, the great leader of the Islamic revolution of Iran and the commander in chief of the armed forces: Most respectfully, I inform the imam that on 28 March 1982, during the last hours of the day, the forces of Islam began the sixth and final plan of the second Karbala operation. We are advancing to completely liberate this part of the Islamic homeland which had been separated from it, so that this region may warmly welcome the fighters in the path of God. Immediately following this operation there will be another plan, to be followed by future plans -- until the final fall of the infidel Saddam.

During the heroic execution of this plan to the west of Dezful, the deceived forces of the infidel Saddam were smashed over an extensive area. More than 14,000 have been captured by the forces of Islam; this number is being increased every moment. Whatever the enemy possessed in this region -- weapons, equipment and ammunition -- has been either destroyed or captured by the fighting forces of the imam. The amount of equipment the enemy succeeded in transferring behind its lines is insignificant.

During this battle -- which started at dawn on 22 March over an area 35 kilometers long and with a depth of 40-60 kilometers -- the commanders of all ranks in the armed forces and in the revolution guards, from the group commander or commander of the armed forces up to the supreme command of the revolution guards corps demonstrated their ability, courage and dedication in commanding the battle for a place in the history of wars of the glorious Islamic revolution of Iran. This was a most glorious example of this epic tale which is immortal, and which is worthy of presenting to the blessed presence of his holiness the Mahdi [the hidden Imam] the lord of the age -- may God hasten his glad advent -- a battle executed by the powerful hands of Imam Khomeyni, the great leader of the Islamic revolution of Iran and the commander in chief of the armed forces.

The guards and mobilization forces, the gendarmerie, police and crusade forces at the battlefront; pilots and fighters of the fighter-bombers and helicopters; pilots, engineers and technicians of the transport planes and helicopters of the ground forces and of the air force, in the skies above the battlefields, fought bravely, strongly and indomitably against the deceived forces of Saddam -- that wicked element, that traitor to Islam and traitor to the Muslim Arab Ummah and Arab countries.

These fighters of Islam and these heroic children of the Muslim and valiant Iranian nation fought until they left no escape route to the enemy forces, either on the land or in the skies of the operational area. The enemy forces had to flee from the Imam 'Ali-like wrath and anger of the children of Islam. They had no choice but death, no escape except to be captured. All those who violated the sacred boundaries of the government, which had been inspired and led by the teachings of God, were either destroyed or captured by the powerful forces and guards of the imam. Only a few of them managed to flee.

The Joint Staff of the Armed Forces of the Islamic Republic of Iran offers its congratulations to the imam, the great leader of the revolution and the commander in chief of the armed forces on the 100 percent successful and great victory by the forces of Islam in implementing the victorious plan of the second Karbala operations. Without a doubt, as a result of the prayers of the imam, the hopeful records of this fighting plan and all its words, orders and plans will be recorded in the golden pages of the records of the true religion of God. In the same way, the remarkable role played by all the commanders and fighters of Islam in this battle will also be preserved forever.

Greetings to the imam and the Muslim Iranian nation and the Muslims of the world on the occasion of this victory. Greetings to the pure souls of the martyrs of this war and past battles on the occasion of this victory. Greetings to all the oppressed people of the world on the occasion of this victory. May the enemies of Islam be defeated and may Saddam and the infidel Ba'thist Party of Iran be destroyed.

[Signed] Brigadier General Zahirnezhad, chief of the Joint Staff of the Armed Forces of the Islamic Republic of Iran

MORE PRISONERS TO RECEIVE AMNESTY 1 APRIL

LD292106 Tehran Domestic Service in Persian 1630 GMT 29 Mar 82

[Text] Musavi Tabrizi, the Islamic revolution prosecutor general, interviewed by IRNA in Khorazan Province, said that in implementing the directive of the revolution's great leader and the founder of the Islamic Republic of Iran concerning the granting of amnesty to a great number of prisoners convicted by the Islamic revolution courts and the state courts to mark the fourth anniversary of the establishment of the Islamic Republic regime in Iran, more prisoners will be released. He said that with the forthcoming release of prisoners, the number released in the course of implementing the imam's directive in the period from the new year [21 March] until 1 April, will be approximately 15,000.

Mr Musavi Tabrizi added: So far, 6,800 prisoners have been released and other cases are now under investigation and review. Before 1 April, the list of those prisoners who could be granted amnesty will be presented to the imam of umma by the president of the Supreme Court [Ayatollah Musavi Ardebili]. Following the imam's approval of the list, it will be communicated to officials throughout the country for implementation. Prisoners who have been pardoned or are due to be given amnesty are mainly those who were sentenced by the Islamic revolution and state courts, including members of the minigroups.

Commenting on the spiritual reconstruction programs for prisoners, Mr Musavi Tabrizi said: Since last year, especially from the middle of this year, the office of the revolution prosecutor has launched a major program to raise the standard of knowledge and Islamic ideological awareness of the prisoners. Through a number of programs such as lectures by professors of the Qom seminary, video film and Islamic books we have, to a considerable extent, reeducated the prisoners, especially members of the minigroups. They have been acquainted with the dear Islam.

He expressed the hope that the elimination of the minigroups would result in the reduction of the volume of work in the judiciary, thus providing more time to guide prisoners.

MOVEMENT CLAIMS IT ATTACKED IRAQI PIPELINE

GF270950 Tehran International Service in Arabic 0700 GMT 27 Mar 82

[Statement by the Struggling Iraqi Movement on the occasion of the recent Iranian "military successes" -- date, place not given]

[Excerpt] The Struggling Iraqi Movement announces that its struggling members will continue their operations inside and outside Iraq until the fall of the tyrannical regime in Iraq.

On 24 March 1982, the Martyr 'Ali Mattan Husayn Group of the struggling Iraqi Movement carried out a missile attack against the Iraqi oil pipeline [words indistinct] which is being exported to colonialist countries. Aided by the criminal Saddam's mercenaries in Lebanon and after laborious efforts, the Lebanese Government repaired the pipeline. No sooner had the pipeline been repaired than the Martyr Abu 'Ali at-Turkuman Group [words indistinct] mujahidin movement in Tal 'Abbas, 30 km north of Tripoli, carried out an attack on the pipeline on 25 March 1982. The two groups returned safely to base.

It is worth mentioning that this pipeline has been blown up three times over the past 3 months by the same two groups.

Oh proud heroic Iraqis, the Struggling Iraqi Movement, while taking advantage of the situation to escalate its operations of struggle, calls on all those who are concerned, (?particularly) those who are concerned with rescuing Iraq from this (?agent) regime, to direct their deadly blows because the treacherous regime is living its last moments. While calling on all struggling Islamic powers to escalate their operations of struggle, the movement urges them to put aside their differences and unite under the flag of Velayat-e Faqih and the leadership of the Ulema, who are following the line of leader Khomeyni, for whom we are ready to sacrifice our souls. We are sure this is the only way to put an end to the despotic regime in Iraq. "Fight them, that God may punish them at your hands, and humiliate them, that God may help you achieve victory over them and relieve the minds of the people who believe." [Koranic verse]

[Signed] The Struggling Iraqi Movement, Military Office

MIDTERM MAJLIS ELECTIONS 'MOST PROBABLY' IN APR

GF271235 Tehran ETTELA'AT in Persian 8 Mar 82 p 4

[Excerpts] Rasht Minister of State Hojjat ol-Eslam Nateq-Nuri and his entourage of Gilan Majlis deputies arrived in Rasht and were greeted by provincial officials and members of revolutionary organizations.

Regarding the elections of the Council of Experts and the midterm elections of the Majlis in some of the districts, the minister of state said: The preliminaries of this work have been completed and questionnaires have been distributed to the Majlis which have been duly completed. God willing, the elections of the Council of Experts and the midterm elections of the Islamic Majlis will most probably be held in April.

TUDEH PARTY PROTESTS ETTELA'AT ARTICLE

GF291335 Tehran ETTELA'AT in Persian 13 Mar 82 p 2

[Text] Some time back, on the anniversary of the Kordestan disturbances, we interviewed a brother member of the reconstruction crusade. He had been active in the region for a long time and had spent a year in Komeeh Prison. During the interview, the name of the Tudeh Party was mentioned as being among those who have been working against the interests of the Islamic republic.

The Tudeh Party sent a letter to ETTELA'AT newspaper protesting the publication of the above interview and objecting to the following excerpt:

"...the second group comprised of those who are not natives but who were supporting the events in Kordestan from various parts of Iran and who had some sort of direct or indirect contact. The Tudeh Party falls into this category...along with such organizations as the so-called American leftists, the 'Tufan' and others like the much-hated Tudeh. Such pseudo-Islamic organizations as the 'Ummat', the 'Jama' and the 'Jebh-e Melli' were also involved and were all foreign. In any case, the Soviet Union, the United States and their allies had a hand in the events. An excellent example of this is Saddam, who intervened in Kordestan using Soviet weapons and U.S. theory...." They [the Tudeh] have written in their note that:

"It is regrettable that a reliable and widely-circulated newspaper like ETTELA'AT could publish such material. Such fabrications should have found a place in newspapers like Mizan, Enqelab-e Eslami, Bamdad and other such scraps of paper which were published copiously during the days of the interim government and in the heyday of Bani-Sadr. We think the writer of the article transcribed the above from the same scraps of paper which landed their proprietors and editors in the garbage can of history.

These stale stories have been written before in better contexts by the crafty disciples of the Bani-Sadrs, the Qotbzadehs, the Amir Entezams. Who does not know what events have transpired, based on the same old subject matter and used by these people to distort the fundamental principles of the revolution from the inside? While expressing regret, we cannot help but be apprehensive about the publication of such false and scandalous material in one of the most widely-circulated newspapers of the country."

SRI LANKAMINISTER HAMEED, HUNGARY'S PUJA HOLD TALKS

BK281106 Colombo International Service in English 1045 GMT 28 Mar 82

[Text] Hungarian Foreign Minister Frigyes Puja who is on an official visit to Sri Lanka has held bilateral talks with Minister of Foreign Affairs A.C.S. Hameed. At these discussions, Hameed explained the present position regarding the proposal for regional cooperation among the countries of south Asia. The two ministers also reviewed the situation in Afghanistan, Kampuchea and west Asia and recent events in some countries of central Latin America.

Discuss 'Peace Zone'

BK280953 Hong Kong AFP in English 0924 GMT 28 Mar 82

[Text] Colombo, 28 Mar (AFP) -- Sri Lanka, sponsor of the Indian Ocean peace zone proposal at the United Nations, is concerned at the increased military presence in the ocean, informed sources said today. Sri Lanka is also hoping that the next meeting of the United Nations' initiated ad hoc committee on the Indian Ocean will achieve a harmonisation of views so that the Colombo conference on the Indian Ocean peace zone can be held.

Sri Lanka's position was explained by Foreign Minister Shahul Hameed during two rounds of discussions he had with visiting Hungarian Foreign Minister Frigyes Puja, who is due to leave Colombo today. Colombo is keen to hold the Indian Ocean conference which was scheduled to have been held around August last year. However, after the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan, the United States and Britain were not ready to attend the meeting unless the political and security situation in and around the Gulf were also discussed. This led to deadlock and the conference was postponed, the sources added.

A Foreign Ministry release quoted Mr Hameed as telling Mr Puja that "Sri Lanka was concerned about increased military presence in the Indian Ocean." However the ministry release did not specify whether Mr Hameed was referring to the superpowers alone or the military presence of other nations too.

The non-aligned community has constantly condemned big power military presence in the Indian Ocean and has often specifically denounced the U.S. naval base in Diego Garcia, about 1,600 kilometres (1,000 miles) southwest of here. However, fearing that any direct condemnation of Diego Garcia would prejudice U.S. participation at the U.N.-sponsored Colombo conference which was due to be held a few months later, Sri Lanka appealed to the Non-Aligned foreign ministers' meeting in New Delhi last year not to make specific reference to Diego Garcia in its final document.

Critics of the present Sri Lanka Government, however, state that Colombo's insistence that no specific reference be made to Diego Garcia was because the country's foreign policy has taken a decidedly pro-Western, and particularly pro-U.S. tilt. Opposition political parties have argued that the ruling United National Party government's decision to give extended facilities to the Voice of America transmitting station here and its talks with the U.S.-based Coastal Corporation of America, on the building of an international oil terminal at the strategic port of Trincomalee, is evidence of that tilt.

To this the government has replied that several foreign companies have shown interest in an oil facility at Trincomalee, a former British naval base, and that an agreement will be signed with the firm that serves Sri Lanka's interests best, adding that this was an entirely commercial proposition.

However neighbouring India has been much concerned about what is perceived as growing U.S. influence here and several questions have been asked in the Indian Parliament about the developments in Trincomalee.

Diplomatic circles here recently said that the Coastal Corporation of America had asked Sri Lanka whether four of the oil tanks could be reserved for the use of the U.S. Navy. The diplomats added that this could be one reason why Sri Lanka appeared to be soft-peddling in the negotiations with Coastal Corporation of America.

NEPAL

55 STUDENTS ARRESTED IN KATMANDU CRACKDOWN

BK270332 Hong Kong AFP in English 0249 GMT 27 Mar 82

[Text] Katmandu, 27 Mar (AFP) -- Local authorities arrested more than 55 students belonging to the left wing of the all-Nepal Nationalist Free Students Union, ahead of the student convention scheduled yesterday, it was learned here. The students had planned to hold their annual convention at the engineering campus here, but it has been cordoned off by police since last Tuesday. About 1,200 delegates were scheduled to attend, as well as some 50 foreign students participating as observers.

Later yesterday, the students tried to hold the convention at the Tribhuvan University campus hall, but helmeted police chased them away. The arrested students, the convention's main organizers, were taken into preventive custody, it was learned.

A leftist student told AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE over the telephone that observers from the Philippines, India, Bangladesh, Iraq, Hong Kong and the Palestinian movement had already arrived here, but that it had not been possible to maintain contact with all of them "because the police are shadowing us to trace them." Another student said, "we will not give up our efforts to hold the convention, whatever action the government might take." The local authorities consider that having failed to request permission to hold their convention, the students would be making an "illegal move" that cannot be permitted. The government also intends stopping two other student conventions slated to be held here, one called by the pro-democratic Nepal Bidhyarthi Union, the other by an extreme-left Marxist-Leninist grouping. The government's attitude, in the view of observers, could induce the students to lay aside their ideological differences and unite, so as to push jointly for recognition of their rights.